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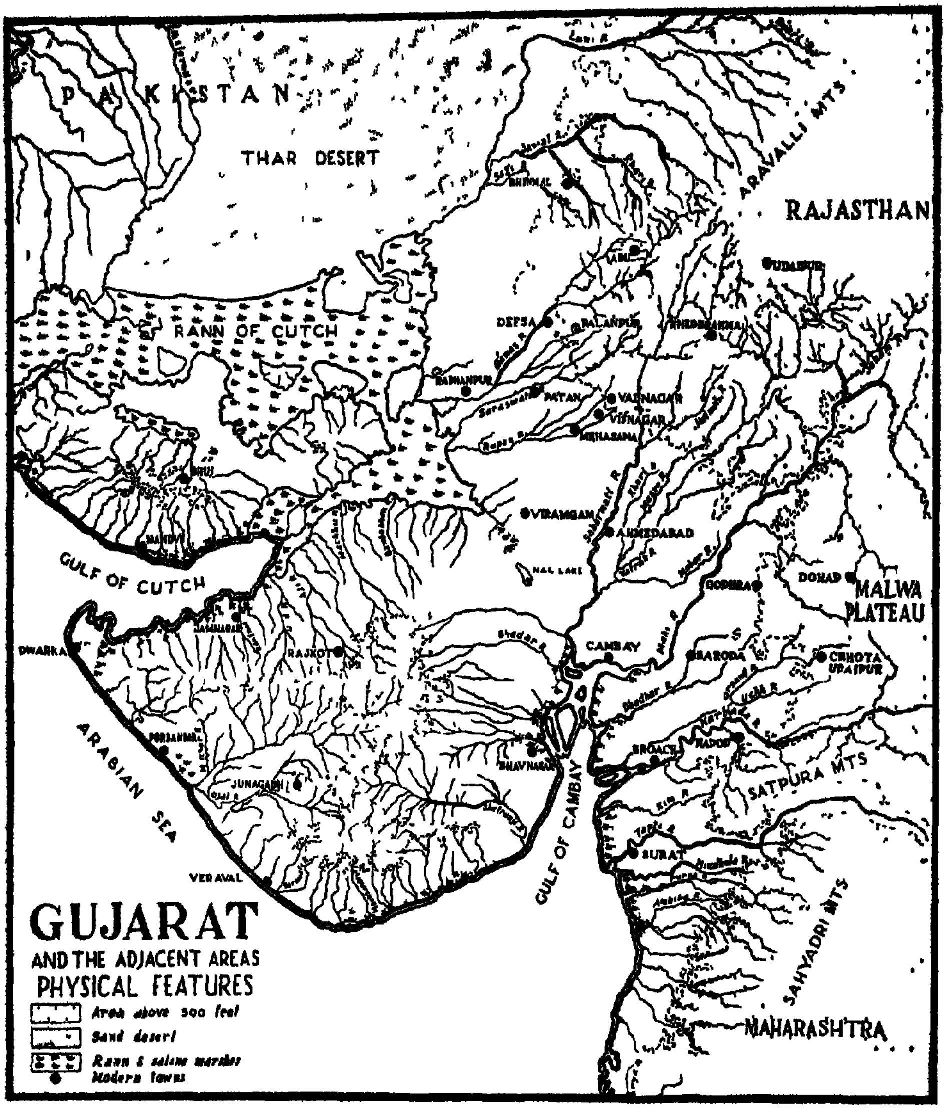


Hemacandra and Kumarapala

Enlarged from palm-leaf manuscript of Hemacandra s Trisastisalakarpurusacarita from Patan, V S 1294

kṛtāparādhe'pi jane kṛpāmantharatārayoḥ
īṣadvāṣpārdrayobhadram śrīvīrajinanetrayoḥ

May there be good fortune from Holy Vīra's eyes whose pupils are wide with compassion even for sinful people, moist with a trace of tears.


PAKISTAN
THAR DESERT
RAJASTHAN
ARAVALLI MTS
RANN OF CUTCH
GULF OF CUTCH
ARABIAN SEA
GULF OF CAMBAY
SATPURA MTS
SAHYADRI MTS
MAHARASHTRA
MALWA PLATEAU
DWARKA
RAJKOT
JUNAGADH
PORBANDAR
VERAVAL
BHAVNAGAR
CAMBAY
AHMEDABAD
VIRAMGAM
PATAN
VADNAGAR
MEHSANA
DEESA
PALANPUR
BHINMAL
ABU
BARODA
GODHRA
DOHAD
CHHOTA UDAIPUR
BROACH
SURAT
NAL LAKE
GUJARAT
AND THE ADJACENT AREAS
PHYSICAL FEATURES
Area above 500 feet
Sand desert
Rann & saline marshes
Modern towns

OURSELVES

klṛptam vyākaraṇam navam viracitam chando navamdvyāśraya-
laṅkārau prathitau navamprakaṭitam śrī yogaśāstram navam
tarka sañjanito navo jinavarādīnām caritram navam
baddham yena na kena vidhinā mohaḥ kṛta dūrataḥ

The Jaina monks traditionally knew Hemacandra as one of the great exponents of their own philosophy but very few people actually knew his versatile interest and spiritual stature. It is the Oriental scholars like Peterson, Buehler and others who first discovered in him in the 19th century a great savant of whom not only the Jaina community but the whole of India can be proud In fact, there have been in India not many scholars of the stature and erudition of Hemacandra and there is perhaps no one equal to him in versatility. Both Sanskrit and Prakrit literature including Apabhramsa owe much to him.

Even today the knowledge about Hemacandra is restricted to a few academicians and scholars and not much of the contributions made by this savant in the fields as far apart as philosophy, morals, biography of Jaina saints, grammar, prosody, rhetoric and lexicons, in short, science of words, has a currency among the lay public. Hence we have taken this opportunity in our humble way of projecting his works and contributions to a larger public and we shall deem our effort amply rewarded if by this we are able to enkindle the interest of the people in this great savant who lived and moved on the soil of this sacred land.

We remember and pay our own sincere homage to this chosen son of the Goddess of Learning.

srihemacandracaryaviracitam
srivitaragastotram

yah parātmā paramjyotih paramah parameṣṭhinām
ādityavarnam tamasah parastādāmananti yam 1

sarve yenodamūlyanta samūlāh kleśapādapāh
mūrdhnā yasmai namasyanti surāsuranareśvarāh 2

prāvartanta yato vidyāh puruṣārthaprasādhikāh
yasya jñānam bhāvadbhāvibhūtabhāvāvabhāsakṛt 3

yasminvijñānamānandam brahmma caikātmatām gatam
sa śradheyah sa ca dhyeyah prapadye śaranam ca tam 4

tena syām nāthabānstasmai spṛhayeyam samāhitah
tatah kṛtārtho bhūyāsam bhaveyam tasya kimkarah 5

tatra stotrena kuryām ca pavitrām svām sarasvatīm
idam hi bhavakāntāre janminām janmanah phalam 6

kvāham paśorapi paśurvītarāgastavah kva ca
uttitīrṣuraranyānīm padbhyām panigurivāsmyatah 7

tathāpi śradhāmugdhoham nopālabhyah skhalannapi
viśṛṅkhalāpi vāgvṛttih śraddadhānasya śobhate 8

prathamah prakāśah

HYMN TO VITARAGA

HEMACANDRACARYA

1

Best amongst the *Ātmans* and luminous
Due to the destruction of *kārmic* bondage,
Foremost amongst the *Parameṣthins*,
Whom as a Sun-like awakener,
The wise meditate
And who has crossed
The horizon of darkness-ignorance ,

2

Who has totally uprooted
The tree of worldly misery
And whom the lords of gods, demons and men
Bow with their heads ,

3

From whom has evolved all learning
Pertaining to the realisation of Self
And who himself is the knower
of what is, what has been and what is to be ,

4

And who has obtained knowledge supreme
And bliss divine
And simultaneously the state of a Perfected Being,
Who is venerable, worthy of meditation,
I take refuge in him.

5

For him am I protected,
For him I aspire
To a state of quietude,
For him am I contented,
A humble servant am I unto him.

6

By composing hymns in his honour
May I purify my speech
For in a forest-like mundane world,
To extol the Dispassionate
Is the fruit of human birth

7

What am I, lowly amongst the low
And yet endeavouring to praise
The Dispassionate
Like a lame man
Am I desirous of crossing the forest

8

Still as I have faith
I should not be blamed for shortcomings
Though not a master of language
Am I composing this hymn
For earnest am I

Book I

KALIKALASARVAJNA HEMACANDRA

M. WINTERNITZ

Kalikālasarvajña, 'The Omniscient of the Kali Age', was the title given to the great Jaina monk Hemacandra by his co-religionists, and he well-deserved this title and his fame on account of the astounding many-sidedness of his literary achievements. He was indeed one of the most versatile and prolific writers, both as a poet and as a scholar. It is due to him that Gujarat became a main stronghold of the Svetambara Jainas and has remained so for centuries, and that Jaina literature flourished there particularly in the 12th and 13th centuries. By his influence on the two Caulukya kings Jayasimha Siddharaja and Kumarapala he was able to direct, in some measure, the destinies and the cultural progress of his native country But not only Gujarat and the Jaina community owe a great debt of gratitude to Hemacandra, he has also a place of honour in general Sanskrit literature as a compiler of useful and important works on grammar, lexicography, poetics and metrics

Among his poetical works his huge epic on the 'Lives of the Sixty-three Excellent Men' (*Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*) is perhaps best known. Though not without merit as a work of poetry, a *mahākāvya*, as it is described by the author himself, yet its main purpose is instruction and edification For us it is invaluable as a store-house of ancient legendary lore and tradition. The appendix to this work, the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, also called 'Lives of the Series of Elders' (*Sthavirāvalīcarita*), is even more important by its wealth of folklore and stories of all kinds He has preserved to us many popular proverbs, and in one of his stories even folk-songs in dialect

As a devout Jaina he also composed some hymns of praise (*stotras*). His 'Hymn to the Passionless (Mahavira)', the *Vītarāgastotra*, is at the same time a poetical manual of the Jaina religion.

Hemacandra is always more a scholar and a moralist than a poet though not without taste and considerable skill in the use of the *kāvya*

style. This is also shown by his didactic poem, the *Yogaśāstra*, consisting of a text in simple *ślokas* and a commentary in the style of ornate poetry, containing also stories

As a poet, as a historian in some way, and as a grammarian, all at the same time, Hemacandra proved himself in the *one* epic poem *Kumārapālacarita*, also known as *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, because it is written in two languages, Sanskrit and Prakrit The poem describes the history of the Caulukyas of Anahillapura and more especially of Kumarapala, the author's great patron, but at the same time it is intended to illustrate the rules of his own Sanskrit and Prakrit grammars

Hemacandra's grammar, called *Siddha-Hemacandra* or *Haima-vyākarana*, though hardly more than an improved edition of Sakatayana's grammar, has yet been described by F Kielhorn as "the best grammar of the Indian middle ages" on account of its practical arrangement and terminology He also added himself a commentary and both *Unādiganasūtra* and *Dhātupātha* to his grammar Like other grammarians he also wrote a *Lingānuśāsana*. The eighth chapter of his *Siddha-Hemacandra* is devoted to Prakrit grammar, which is still the most important grammar of the Prakrit dialects we possess In his Prakrit grammar he has shown again his interest in popular poetry by preserving for us some pretty Apabhramsa songs which closely resemble the songs in Hala's *Sattasai* In his manual of metrics he even composed Apabhramsa songs himself in illustration of the Apabhramsa meters, and it seems to be due to Hemacandra, as Professor H D Velankar (*Annals*, Bhandarkar Institute, 14, p 15) has suggested, that Apabhramsa has become a literary language among Jaina *yatis*

Hemacandra's learned books, it is true, are not distinguished by any great originality, but they display a truly encyclopaedic erudition and an enormous amount of reading, besides a practical sense which make them very useful This applies also to his manuals of poetics and metrics, the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and the *Chandānuśāsana*, each accompanied by the author's own commentary

Of the greatest importance for Sanskrit lexicography are the two works of Hemacandra on this subject, his synonymic lexicon *Abhidhāna-cintāmanimālā* with a commentary by the author himself, and his homonymic lexicon *Anekārtha-samgraha*, with a commentary by the author's pupil Mahendra Suri A supplement to the *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* is the *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa*, a glossary of botanical terms in 396 *ślokas* Of inestimable value is his Prakrit lexicon *Deśīnāmamālā*. All these

lexicons are so very valuable, because Hemacandra was able to use sources which are lost to us, as also on account of their practical arrangement and the clear explanations.

Hemacandra's literary activity also extended to philosophy. He wrote a work on logic, the *Pramānamīmānsa*, 'Examination of the Means of Proof', again with his own commentary And his *Anyayogavyavacchedadvātrimśikā*, 32 verses in praise of Mahavira and a treatise on logic at the same time, formed the basis for Mallisena's *Syādvāda-mañjarī*, which is not only a commentary on Hemacandra's treatise, but also an independent work on Jaina philosophy [1]

[1] Until a short time ago it was believed that Hemacandra was also the author of *Laghv-arhannitisastra*, a Jaina work on law and politics, said to be a summary of a larger work in Prakrit, and published with a Gujarati commentary at Ahmedabad in 1906. But Mr C R Jain (see *The Jaina Gazette*, January, 1935, pp 9ff) assures us, on the authority of Mr Puran Chand Nahar, that this '*Arhanniti*' is a spurious work of the 19th century It is no loss to the fame of Hemacandra, even if we have to omit this insignificant compilation from the list of his works

Reprinted from the foreword to G Buehler, *The Life of Hemacandracarya* (Singhi Jaina Series), Santiniketan 1936 Courtesy Singhi Jaina Jnanapitha, Santiniketan

SOURCES OF HEMACANDRA'S LIFE

George Buehler

Although European Orientalists have, during the last 50 years, paid very close attention to the works of Hemacandra, there still remains the want of a thorough research in the life of this remarkable man who, through his extensive literary activity, made the name of the Svetambaras universally known in the learned circles of India, and who, because of his influence over a mighty monarch of Gujarat during the second half of the 12th century, gained a predominant place for the Jaina doctrine for the time being in his own native land Apart from the inadequate, and partly inaccurate, data in H H Wilson's works and in the prefaces to the editions of some of Hemacandra's works, the only detailed account of the life of this famous monk is found in K. Forbes' *Rās Mālā*, (2nd edition, Bombay, 1878), pp 145-157 A short article by Bhau Daji in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IX, P. 222f is intended to supplement this account Forbes' narrative is essentially a reproduction of the informations found in Merutungacarya's *Prabandha-cintāmani* The anecdotes contained in this last-named work are put in a better chronological order, while the most striking improbabilities are set aside At the end, some legends are appended which are taken from the oral tradition. This treatment of the material corresponds to the character of Forbes' work which makes no claim to give a critical adaptation of the history of Gujarat, but has as its title "A Garland of Historical Legends"

Since the year 1856, when the *Rās Mālā* appeared, the systematic research carried on in the Jaina Libraries in Western India has brought to light a large mass of new material for the life of Hemacandra. On the one hand, numerous works, such as *Prabhāvakacarita*, *Prabandhakoṣa*, Commentaries on the *Ṛṣimandalastotra*, and a number of *Kumārapāla-*

caritas or *Kumārarāsas* have been discovered which deal more or less in detail with the life of this 'Omniscient of the Kaliyuga'; on the other hand, Hemacandra's own works, probably all of them and almost in complete form, are now accessible It is therefore now possible to examine critically the information obtained through the secondary sources by comparing them with one another and with Hemacandra's own utterances. The character of these secondary sources, as well as the fact that the greater number of them were written long after Hemacandra's time and that they belong to the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, however, render it unnecessary to consider them collectively A selection as follows is quite sufficient

1 *The Prabhāvakacarita* by Prabhacandra and Pradyumna Suri : a collection of life-sketches of 22 Jaina Acaryas, who bestowed glory on their faith, it was written about 1250 A D, about 80 years after Hemacandra's death

2 The *Prabandha-cintāmani* by Merutungacarya of Vardhamanapura (Vadhavan) in Kathiavad a collection of historical legends, completed on the full-moon day of the Vaisakha month, Vikram Samvat 1362, i e, in April-May 1305 or 1306 A D

3 The *Prabandhakoṣa* by Rajasekhara a collection of the biographies of famous monks, poets and statesmen completed in Dilli (Delhi), Vikram Samvat 1405, i e, 1348-49 A D

4 The *Kumārapāla-prabanda* by Jinamandana Upadhyaya · a life-story of the King Kumarapala of Gujarat, V S 1199-1230, completed in Vikram Samvat 1492, i e., 1435-36 A D.

The relationship of these works with one another is as follows : The *Prabhāvakacarita* and the *Prabandha-cintāmani* represent two distinct —and apparently independent of each other—currents of tradition They diverge very often and, as regards some parts, they do so in many important points , the older work gives us in some cases less trustworthy data. The author of the *Prabandhakoṣa* knows the *Prabandha-cintāmani* and regards his own account of Hemacandra as an appendix to the same. He says he will not repeat what is said in that work (*Prabandha-cintāmani*); he will, on the contrary, acquaint his readers with a number of unknown anecdotes The material put forth by him is, it is true, generally not to be found in earlier works and appears to have been adapted from tradition to which he so often refers Lastly, the *Kumārapāla-prabandha*

is a loose compilation from the three first-named and from several other similar works. Here and there, contradictory accounts of the *Prabhāvakacarita* and of the *Prabandha-cintāmani* have been placed side by side; in other cases, attempts have been made to bring them in accord by alterations. These repetitions have, of course, no great worth, except when Jinamandana's method of broader representation is instrumental to a better understanding of the notes of his predecessors which are sometimes too brief His extracts from some older and hardly accessible works are, on the other hand, of greater value,—particularly those from the *Moharājaparājaya*, a drama which Yasahpala, a councillor or minister of the 'Emperor' Ajayadeva, i e, of the king Ajayapala of Gujarat, wrote in honour of Kumarapala's conversion to Jainism.[1] As Ajayapala reigned immediately after Kumarapala and sat on the throne only for three years, the informations given in the drama deserve serious attention as being those of a contemporary source

Like all the *Caritas* and *Prabandhas*, even the oldest of the works enumerated are not purely historical sources, nor are they comparable to the European chronicles of the Middle Ages or to those of the Arabs On the whole they are sectarian writings and when using them, one must take into account not only the tendencies of the sect from which they emanate, but also other minor details and some peculiarities of the Indian character According to the definition which Rajasekhara gives in his introduction to the *Prabandhakoṣa*, the *Caritas* of the Jainas are biographies of the *Tirthankaras* or Prophets, the ancient, whole-or half-mythical Emperors of India who are occasionally called *Cakravartins* and of the Seers, i e, the great, ancient chiefs of the sects down to Arya-Raksita who must have died in the year 557 after Vira or 30 A D According to him, the stories of men of later times, monks as well as laymen, are designated as '*Prabandha*' The motives with which the *Caritas* and the *Prabandhas* were written, were to edify the congregations, to convince them of the magnificence and the might of the Jaina faith and to supply the monks with the material for their sermons, or, when the subject was purely of worldly interest, to provide the public with pleasant entertainment Metrical works of this class were written always according to the rules of the Brahmanical poetics and were meant to exhibit the artistic skill and scholarship of the authors As the authors start out with this point of view before them, they naturally make their works collections of interesting anecdotes serving their purpose rather than actual biographies

[1]There is a *mss* of this rare work in the Deccan College Collection of 1880-81 See Kielhorn, *Report of 1880-81* Ap pp 32-34

or exact accounts of events in the past. They move almost always by leaps and bounds and often leave very important points entirely in darkness At the same time, their information often betrays strong, intentional colouring in the interest of their own faith; whereas in other places poetic exaggerations or devices which are to make the story piquant, may easily be detected. Other circumstances which render it more difficult for us to ascertain the historical valuation of the *Caritas* and the *Prabandhas* are the uncertainty of their original sources which for the major part consist of the oral tradition of the schools of the monks or of the bards and of the fearful belief in miracles and superstitions which were perhaps more deep-rooted in the Indians than in the European peoples of the Middle Ages

The authors of the *Prabandhas* admit most of the points referred to above. But these limitations should not, however, lead one to a complete rejection of the accounts contained therein, for the *Prabandhas* do contain much that is well corroborated by the inscriptions and other reliable sources Particularly one must admit that the persons appearing in the older as well as later *Prabandhas* are all historical Almost every new inscription, every collection of old manuscripts, and each newly discovered historical work supplies evidence for the actual existence of one or other personalities mentioned by them. So also those dates which they give as exact deserve always our most earnest consideration Whenever these occur in other works of this class, which are usaully independent of one another, we may without any hesitation accept them as historically correct Naturally the same is also the case with other information

Considering the character of the *Prabandhas* described above, Hemacandra's own statements about his person and his time are naturally of the greatest significance They are principally to be found in

1 the Sanskrit *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya,* which gives a summary of the History of the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarat, from Mularaja down to Kumarapala ,

2 the Prakrit *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* or *Kumāravālacariya* which celebrates his patron Kumarapala ,

3. the *praśasti* to his Grammar which is written in honour of his first patron Jayasimha Siddharaja and the ancestors of the same ;

4 In the *Mahāvīracarita* which belongs to the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacarita*

Besides, isolated facts are found scattered in almost all his works Without these authentic communications, a research into Hemacandra's life would yield results of little certainty With the help of them, at least an outline of his biography can be drawn There remain, however, significant gaps which cannot be filled up for the present *

*To these sources we are able to add three more now (1) the *Kumarapala-pratibodhha* of Somaprabha Suri and his *Satarathakavya*, (2) the *Moharaja-parajaya* of Yasahpala and (3) the *Puratana-prabandha-samgraha* Of these three, the first two are works of authors contemporary to Hemacandra while the last is a compilation supplying many details —Editor

Reprinted from G Buehler, *The Life of Hemacandra-carya* (Singhi Jaina series), Santiniketan, 1936, pp 1-5
Courtesy Singhi Jaina Jnanapitha, Santiniketan

THE LIFE OF HEMACANDRA

Rasiklal C Parikh

The *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* is, our main contemporary authority for information regarding Hemacandra But the author frankly confesses that though there is much else that is interesting in the lives of these two great men (viz , Hemacandra and Kumarapala), he has only touched that part which pertains to the inculcation of Jainadharma This means that though we shall have to examine the later sources in the light of information derived from this work, there will remain many gaps in the life-story of Hemacandra to fill which we will have to rely solely upon the later sources Of these, the *Prabhāvakacarita* is comparatively more useful

The *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* does not directly narrate the life-story of Hemacandra The author provides a dramatic occasion for it Kumarapala is very anxious to know what true religion is and is not satisfied with what his Brahmanical preceptors tell him Then his minister Bahadadeva narrates the life-story of Hemacandra upto the time he is introduced to the king, beginning with the history of the Purnatallagaccha to which Hemacandra belonged This dramatic occasion has been regarded by the later *Prabandha*-writers and even modern scholars drawing upon them as historical An inference is made from this that this was the first occasion when Hemacandra was introduced to Kumarapala However it appears to me that this prologue is purely imaginary

The minister Bahada, after narrating the history of Purnatallagaccha, informs us that Devacandra comes to Dhandhuka in course of his usual itinerary After Devacandra had finished his sermon a handsome-looking boy who was hearing the sermon approaches him and requests him to help him "cross this ocean of the world by giving him boat in the form of *sucāritra*, that is, by making him a monk" The *guru* asks the boy his and his father's names Nemi, the maternal uncle of the boy, who was present there, gives the *guru* some information about the boy and his parents.

He says, "Here, (i e , in Dhandhuka) lives a prominent merchant of the name of Cacca who worships (his) god and preceptors He has a wife named Pahini who is my sister This boy is their son His name is

Cangadeva [1] In these days, the boy's mind does not delight in anything except *dharma*" (p 21)

The *guru* Devacandra said, "If the boy is initiated in the order, it would be nice We shall take him and teach him the truth of all the *śāstras* He will do good to the people like a *Tirthankara* So you ask his father Cacca to permit him to enter the religious order" (p 21)

The father, out of affection for his son, does not give the necessary permission But the boy was determined to become a monk, so he left his home, being encouraged by his maternal uncle With his *guru* he came to Khambhatittha that is modern Cambay, and was ordained a monk there after satisfying the *Samgha* (congregation of laymen and monks) He was given the name of Somacandra After practising the *tapa* (austerities) taught by the Jaina *Āgamas* "he crossed, within a short time, the whole ocean of learning" His *guru* Sri Devacandra seeing that he possessed a number of qualities impossible to acquire in this iron age, established him in the position of a *Ganadhara*, that is he was made an *Ācārya* and a leader of other monks Because his body had the colour of gold, he was called Hemacandra (p 22)

Hemacandra was moving about various provinces But he was asked by a goddess not to go to other countries leaving Gurjarat country "You will do great benefit by staying here" Obeying this divine order Hemacandra gave up going out to other countries, and lived in Gujarat awakening many people

The minister continues the narrative 'It was to him (Hemacandra) that the world-famed Siddharaja, the crest-jewel of the learned, used to ask all his doubts At the suggestion of Jayasimhadeva, this lord of *munis* composed the grammar known as *Siddha-Hema*, a work which is the treasure-house of the science of all languages"

"So if you want to know the nature of *dharma* as it is, consult with devotion this best of the *munis*" (p 22)

This brief account, in fact, gives the main events of Hemacandra's life and is, on the whole, reliable The later accounts fill in the details

[1] After this, the dream that Pahini dreamt when this boy was conceived is narrated This shows that Hemacandra was becoming a legendary figure in a work completed 12 years after his death Cacca belonged to the Modha community

The dates for the main events of Hemacandra's life are supplied by the *Prabhāvakacarita* According to it, Hemacandra was born in the year V S 1145 (A D 1089), full-moon night of Kartika, he was initiated into the holy order in V S 1150 (A D 1094) and was made a *Sūri* or *Ācārya* in V.S 1166 (A D 1110)

On the date of Hemacandra's birth, there is unanimity in all works As to the date of his initiation, however, there is some discrepancy According to the injunction of the Jaina *śāstras*, no person who has not completed his eighth year is legible for initiation into the Jaina holy order We find that the *Prabandha-cintāmani*, the *Purātana-prabandha-samgraha*, the *Prabandhakoṣa* and the *Kumārapāla-prabandha* say that when Hemacandra was initiated, he was about eight years old The *Kumārapāla-prabandha* gives the date of initiation as V S 1154 (A D 1098) (p 12) This seems to be correct This discrepancy between the *Prabhāvakacarita* and the later accounts is easily explicable, and the *Kumārapāla-prabandha* in a sense has done this Devacandra Suri must have come to Dhandhuka in V S 1150 when his eyes were cast on the boy Cangadeva and his formal consent also must have been taken at that time Considerable time, however, must have elapsed before the necessary permission was obtained from his father Cacca We learn from the *Prabandha-cintāmani* that Cangadeva came with Devacandra to Karnavati and was brought up with the sons of the minister Udayana one of whom must be Bahada or Vagbhata After the father was appeased and satisfied, he gave his consent According to the *Prabandha-cintāmani* it was Cacca or Caciga, as it calls him, who performed the festival of initiation This should be taken to mean that he was satisfied and must have been present on the occasion It is likely that the invitations were also issued in his name Somaprabha does not give the name of Udayana as the person who was responsible for the festive occasion, but later works give his name This probably means that Udayana who in V S 1154 (A D 1098) must have been the officer-in-charge of Cambay must have paid all the expenses According to the *Prabandha-cintāmani* Udayana had offered three lacs to Cacca, which, however, the latter had contemptuously refused to accept So Udayana must have spent on that festive occasion a part of the money he was ready to offer to Cacca

All these arrangements must have taken about three or four years to be completed However that may be, it is certain that Hemacandra could not have been ordained before he was eight years old So we may say that in V S 1150 (A D 1094), Cangadeva first came under the influence of Devacandra and his virgin mind untouched by worldly

considerations was easily influenced, and in V S 1154 (A.D. 1098), he gladly joined the holy order [8]

Another point which is not mentioned by Somaprabha may also be referred to here, and it is the religion of the parents of Cangadeva His mother Pahini and her brother Nemi were Jainas But the father is called a '*mithyātvin*', a Jaina word for a non-Jaina by the *Prabandha-cintāmani* and other works He appears to be a Mahesvarin from his use of the word '*śivanirmālya*' when he was offered money (p 83) There is nothing strange in this as we find that persons in those days of the same family followed different faiths

As to the date of Hemacandra's '*Sūri*-ship' there is no difference of opinion The *Prabhāvakacarita* gives the year V S 1166 (A D 1110) So does the later *Kumārapāla-prabandha* (p 13) Thus we find that Hemacandra became a member of the Jaina holy order at the age of eight and became a *Sūri*, a leader, at the age of twentyone

According to *Kumārapāla-prabandha* the ceremony of '*Sūri*-ship' took place in Nagapura (Nagor) and the man who paid the expenses was one Dhanada, a merchant of the place (p 13)

In the life-story of a man of such extensive and extraordinary learning as Hemacandra, one would desire to know how he was educated, where he was educated and who were his teachers Unfortunately, however, we have very little information on the point In the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, we find Devacandra Suri saying to the maternal uncle of Cangadeva that Cangadeva after taking the vow, "will go deep into the truth of all *śāstras*" After he took the vow, we are told, within a short time, he crossed the ocean of learning After he became an *Ācārya*, he used to go out to other countries but he was asked to stay in Gujarat This is all the information that the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* gives

Hemacandra himself says in the *praśasti* of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* that he got all his learning through the favour of his *guru* Devacandra (*tatprasādadadhigatajñānasampannamahodayah*)

The *Prabhāvakacarita* tells us that "Somacandra quickly became master of *tarka*, *lakṣana* and *sāhitya* But he was not satisfied with his

[8] Dr. Buehler's explanation of this matter is not acceptable to me as it is not based upon proper understanding of the material and the custom in these matters See pp 6-8 & Notes p 67, n *Singhi Jaina Series*, No 11

capacity of retaining a hundred thousand *padas* in mind; so he took permission of his *guru* to propitiate the goddess living in Kasmira—*kāśmīra-deśavāsinī* From Tamralipti, i.e., Cambay he started and put up for the night in a Jaina temple nearby known as Sri Raivatavatara. At midnight as he was sitting in meditation, the goddess Brahmi appeared to him and asked him not to take the trouble of going all the way to Kasmira, as she being satisfied with his devotion, would grant him what he desired. After spending the night in her praises, in the morning Somacandra returned to his *upāśraya*—place of residence Thus Soma became a *Siddha* (*Sārasvata*) without any trouble" (vs 37-46) Then Soma was made a *Sūri* (vs 48-59)

Jinamandana in his *Kumārapāla-prabandha* describes a similar event with more mystifying details

Devacandra, the *guru* of Hemacandra, was no doubt a learned man But the question is whether he alone could have taught the various branches of learning whose mastery Hemacandra reveals in his works Stambhatirtha or Cambay, where Hemacandra appears to have passed his early years, was no doubt, then an important port of India and must have ample facilities for acquiring learning But it is nowhere referred to as a centre of learning in the way Anahillapura is It is likely that Somacandra might have studied for some time in Anahillapura, but we have no information to that effect

The reference to *kāśmīravāsinī* goddess, seems to me to be of some significance Somacandra, no doubt, wanted to go to Kasmira for further study We know from Bilhana, what a great centre of learning Kasmira was in those days But as the journey to Kasmira was, in those days, full of danger, the young scholar was advised not to go there The appearance of the *kāśmīravāsinī* goddess may be interpreted as suggesting that Hemacandra had something to do with Kasmira in matters of study

We know from Bilhana's sojourn in Anahillapura that Pandits from that land of Sarada—as Kasmira was called—used to come to Gujarat. In the assembly of Jayasimha was a Pandit named Utsaha who was a great grammarian and whose learning was even famous in Kasmira [3] It was this Utsaha who was sent again by the Kasmira Pandits with the

[3] The fact that one of the earliest commentaries of Mammata's *Kavyaprakasa*, viz., the *Samketa* of Manikyacandra was composed in Gujarat confirms the fact that there was intimate contact between Gujarat and Kasmira in matters of learning

eight grammars from Kasmira, from which Hemacandra compiled his work It will not be an altogether wild guess if I suggest that some of Hemacandra's teachers might have been Kasmiri Pandits and even Utsaha may be one of them The same suggestion is supported by the fact that the *sūtras* of the *Kāvyānuśāsana* are based upon the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammata, and that, after discussing the theory of *rasa* by quoting verbatim passages from the *Nātyaveda-vivṛti*, Hemacandra says in the *Viveka* in so many words "we follow Abhinavaguptapada" , Abhinavagupta and Mammata both of them were the luminaries of Kasmira in learning

After Somacandra became Hemacandra Suri, his mother Pahini, we are told by the *Prabhāvakacarita*, entered the holy order At the request of Hemacandra she was seated on a *simhāsana* (seat of honour) —a rare honour to a nun due to her son's greatness (vs 61-63)

Now we come to the question as to when and how Hemacandra was first introduced to Jayasimha

If we accept, on the authority of the *Prabandha-cintāmani* (p 67) and that of the *Prabhāvakacarita*, that Hemacandra was present at the time of the Kumudacandra debate, we can say that he was introduced to the court of Jayasimha by the year V S 1181 (A D 1125)[4] At that time Hemacandra would be 31 years of age The *Prabhavakacarita*, however, tells us that after Hemacandra was ordained a *Sūri*, he went to Anahillapura (v 64) Two questions arise in connection with the statement Whether this was Hemacandra's first visit to the capital and, how much time must have elapsed after his *Suri*-ceremony before he reached the capital ? We have no means to answer these questions definitely

The first meeting of Hemacandra and Jayasimha is described thus When Siddharaja seated on his elephant was going out for his usual outing (known as *rājapāti*) through the city he saw Hemacandra standing aside near a shop He stopped the elephant near a mound and asked the Suri to say something Hemacandra uttered a verse .

kāraya prasaram siddha hastirājamaśmkitam
trasyantu diggajāh kim tairbhūstvyaivoddhṛtā yatah

[4] If the account of the *Kumarapala-prabandha* of the first meeting of Kumarapala and Hemacandra when the former waited upon Jayasimha is true, we must imagine Hemacandra to be in Anahillapura even earlier than V S 1181

Oh Siddha, let your majestic elephant move fearlessly The *Diggajas* (Elephants of Directions) might tremble Don't mind them, for, you bear (the burden) of the earth

The king who was intelligent enough understood the meaning and was pleased with the compliment He asked Hemacandra to see him in the afternoon for diversion (vs 65-69)

Thus on the authority of the *Prabhāvakacarita*, which there is no sufficient reason to doubt, these two remarkable men of the age—one a king and the other a monk—got into touch with each other. The contact must have soon developed into intimacy and mutual admiration The meeting of two such men could not but be of great consequence The next occasion of their meeting that is referred to in the *Prabhāvakacarita* is the return of the conquering hero after subjugating Malava when representatives of different sects gathered to congratulate the king. Hemacandra, who was also there representing the Jaina sect, recited a verse full of resonant grandeur welcoming the king When the verse was explained—'as if the exploit of the king was being explained'—the king became mightily pleased and invited the Suri again to his palace (vs 70-73)

This meeting must have taken place between the last months of V S 1191 and the beginning of V S 1192 (A D 1136)

The first literary fruit of the royal friendship was the great grammar of the Sanskrit language and the Prakrit dialects known as *Siddha-Hemacandra-śabdānuśāsana* In the last verse of the *praśasti* at the end of the grammar, Hemacandra himself tells us how he came to write it "Muni Hemacandra composed this grammar—faultless and complete—being repeatedly requested by him (Sri Siddharaja) who was tormented by grammars very lengthy, difficult to grasp, and incomplete." (v 35) From the verses devoted to Siddharaja in the *praśasti*, it becomes quite clear that the grammar was completed after the Malava victory It is highly probable that Jayasimha requested Hemacandra to compose a good grammar after his return from Malava The *Prabhāvakacarita* gives a long account describing the occasion which was responsible for the writing of this grammar which is not only not contradictory to what Hemacandra himself says, but which supplements it and which appears to be highly probable

'Once when the officers were showing the king books from the Library of Avanti, his (Jayasimha's) eyes fell upon a book of

grammar The king asked, "What is this ?" Hemacandra answered, "This is the *Bhoja-vyākarana* It is the prevelant grammar of the language The lord of Malava was the crest-jewel of the learned He composed works on *Sabdaśāstra*, *Alamkāraśāstra*, *Daivajñaśāstra* and *Tarkaśāstra*" Thus Hemacandra goes on mentioning the various works by Bhoja (vs 74-78) The king asked, "Have we no such series of scientific books in our library ? Have we no learned man in all Gurjaradesa ?" The learned men (in the assembly) looked at Hemacandra, all simultaneously The king very respectfully appealed to Hemacandra and requested him "Fulfil my desire, Oh Maharsi ! Compose the science which will give proficiency in Language Who, other than you, is the master ?" '

The rivalry between Malava and Gujarat was not only political but literary and cultural also The kings of Gujarat were as jealous of the paramountcy of their learned assembly as of that of their power Jayasimha, in fact wanted to emulate the famous Vikrama of Ujjaini and after he had become Avantinatha, it was but natural for Jayasimha to make his Gujarat superior in literary culture also

'Hemacandra replied "Your word is only a reminder of what it is our duty to do But there are eight grammars, and these works are, no doubt, in the library of Sri Bharatidevi Get them through your men from Kasmiradesa, so that, Oh Great King ! the science of language be composed well" ' (vs 85-87)

This speech, if it embodies the substance of what Hemacandra might have said, indicates, why Hemacandra wanted to go to Kasmira It was probably to be a great *Vaiyākarana*, and to be a great *Vaiyākarana* was the hall-mark of rare learning then, even as it is now, among the Pandits of India It secondly indicates that Hemacandra was thinking of writing a grammar even before the king requested him to do so The grammar with its commentary and other appendices was quickly completed after the request of the king Looking to the great bulk of the matter and the time and the energy that would be required to prepare it, it would have been physically impossible if the work was not begun much earlier

'Jayasimha immediately sent his officers to the Land to Vagdevi They went to Pravarapura—the same place from where Bilhana had come—and propitiated the goddess who ordered her officers to send men with the collection of books, "as Hemacandra was her own

incarnation" The ministers of Bharati gave the books and sent a Pandit named Utsaha[5] ' (vs 88-92)

'Hemacandra went through the collection of grammars and prepared a new and wonderful grammar which was named *Siddha-Hemacandra-śabdānuśāsana* (v 96) "The grammar was acclaimed as the best among grammars by all learned men and was accepted as an authority by all the modern Pandits " ' (vs 98-100)

The enthusiasm of the reception that was accorded to his grammar must have inspired Hemacandra to write works on allied subjects such as lexicons, poetics, metrics, etc

Many are the incidents reported by the *Prabhāvakacarita*, the *Prabandha-cintāmani* and *Kumārapāla-prabandha* of Jinamandana and other *Prabandhas* about Hemacandra and Jayasimha We cannot go into all these, but refer to one which throws light on the religious and ethical influence that Hemacandra exercised on Jayasimha

Jayasimha, desirous of liberation, once asked the leaders of various religious sects as to what was the truth in the matters of God, Religion and the *Pātra* ? Every secterian praised his own creed and slighted others The king felt perplexed at this and consulted Hemacandra He gave his answer in the form of a parable from the *Purānas* and then said, "in this iron age even though the truth is hidden, one may get its benefit by respecting all *darśanas* with proper devotion "

On other occasions Hemacandra is reported to have preached that ethical code which forms the common substance of all religions

Whether these stories are historical or not, they do indicate the spirit of Hemacandra's preachings to his royal friend From the *anekānta* point of view of Jainism, Hemacandra was doing just the thing that was expected of him

Various motives explaining Hemacandra's attitude have been imagined by Dr Buehler and other scholars which may or may not be real. Subjective element greatly affects such interpretations Historically we can say this much that even in those days in every sect,

[5] This Utsaha Pandit must have been the same as is referred to in the *Mudrita-Kumudacandra* as one whose wonderful and great energy of learning was known in Saradadesa

there were persons of higher type who took a broad and truly spiritual view of religious matters and who could understand the essential identity pervading through the warring creeds So there is nothing improbable in imagining that Hemacandra really took a liberal view of things His prayer to Siva in Somanatha Pattana might also be regarded in this light as inspired by such a wider vision He has also told us, in his *Dvyāśraya*, how a Jaina sees in Arhata, Siva, Visnu and Brahma (Ch I, v 79) This, however, did not make Hemacandra an inch less Jaina

The practical effect of such a moral guidance must have been what it is reported to be by the contemporary writer Somaprabha Suri, viz, 'in all doubtful questions he became worthy of consultation' We saw from the Sanskrit *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, which strictly maintains a Brahmanical and Saivite atmosphere throughout the poem in contrast to the Jaina atmosphere of the Prakrit *Dvyāśryakāvya*, that Jayasimha built a Jaina temple of the last *Tīrthankara* in Siddhapura after he had rebuilt Rudra Mahalaya and that he put certain *Brāhmanas* to look after it—a fact confirmed by Somaprabha's *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* also In the last years of his life, Jayasimha must have felt some inclination towards Jainism as is evidenced by the Arab geographer Al Adrasi, who says that the king used to worship the Buddha (?) image

This inclination towards Jainism must have been largely the result of Jayasimha's contact with Hemacandra whose extraordinary learning and intelligence as well as strictly ascetic life of the *suvihita* type as distinguished from the easy-going and luxurious life of *caityavāsi* abbots, must have greatly impressed the mind of the king

Now let us consider the relationship of Hemacandra with Kumarapala The first question that faces us is as to when did Kumarapala and Hemacandra first meet Dr Buehler, on the strength of some verses in the *Mahāviracarita* of Hemacandra, comes to the conclusion that "Kumarapala's acquaintance with Hemacandra began, according to the verse 53, at the time when the empire had achieved its greatest expansion and when the war-expeditions and conquests were over" (p 34) The learned Doctor rejects the accounts of the *Prabandhas* on this topic as got up later on "with a view to motivating the later relationship" (p 34)

It appears to me, however, that the learned Doctor draws a conclusion from the verses based upon an implication which the verses do not carry For the order of narration of events does not necessarily imply their chronological order, and when we study the verses carefully we find that no such sequence is intended The first seven verses (45-51)

describe Kumarapala and his beneficent rule, the next verse (52) describes the extent of his empire and the last six verses (53-58) describe the 'daily' contact with Hemacandra This is merely a way of narrating and does not imply, as Dr Buehler believes, that Kumarapala got acquainted with Hemacandra after the 'greatest expansion' of his empire If it implies any such thing, it would be only that their intimate contact 'd ing honour daily to that monk' began after that 'greatest expansion' of his empire It does not mean that their first acquaintance began at that time

Another argument of Dr Buehler that the *Prabandhas* though mention early acquaintance do not describe the relationship of Hemacandra and Kumarapala immediately after the latter became king First, we cannot infer anything from the absence of mention, and secondly Kumarapala in the beginning of his reign was too busy subduing his internal and external enemies and consolidating and extending his empire to think of religiously meeting Hemacandra This, however, does not preclude the possibility of his early acquaintance and even occasional meeting after he got the throne On the contrary, it appears to me that one of the causes of Kumarapala's attachment to Hemacandra must have been the support he got, no doubt indirectly, from the monk through his rich and influential followers like Udayana and his son Vagbhata

Once, we are told, when Kumarapala happened to be in Stambhatirtha (Cambay), while he was a fugitive, his future kingship was forecast by Hemacandra in presence of Udayana who was then the governor of Stambhatirtha When Kumarapala could not believe in such an impossible future Hemacandra wrote down the exact date of his coronation and gave one copy to Kumarapala and another to Udayana for verification So we may very well believe that the fulfilment of Hemacandra's forecast was one of the events which made Kumarapala believe in the infallibility of Hemacandra

The *Kumārapala-prabandha* of Jinamandana mentions an earlier meeting of Kumarapala and Hemacandra 'Once Sri Kumarapala went to Pattana to wait upon Sri Jayasimhadeva There he saw Hemacarya seated on a lion seat before the king He felt that this learned Jaina *muni* is being respected by the king It would be a meritorious thing to meet him ' So Kumarapala went to the lecture-hall of Hemacarya and asked him which was the best virtue Hemacandra answered "To look upon the wives of other people as one's own sister is the king of virtues" and gave a sermon on chastity (pp 18-22)

If this meeting was at all historical, it must have been before Kumarapala was compelled to wander about for fear of his life, that is about V S 1169 (A D 1113)

According to the *Prabhāvakacarita* when Kumarapala could not succeed in subduing Arnoraja, he offered worship at the suggestion of his minister Bahada to the image of Ajitanatha which was installed by the hands of Hemacandra. (vs 451-452)

Kumarapala, however, had no leisure up to V S 1207 (A D 1151) to think about religious or ethical things It was after his empire was consolidated that Kumarapala came in real touch of Hemacandra. This is how we may interpret the passage from the *Mahāvīracarita* about Kumarapala

Kumarapala must have had great faith in Hemacandra His forecast about his future kingship given at a time when he had not enough to eat had come true Hemacandra was then famous as a learned man and much respected by his predecessor Jayasimha His great ministers like Bahada and others were Hemacandra's followers Thus Kumarapala was prepossessed in favour of Hemacandra As the contact continued from day to day, Kumarapala must have come more and more under the spiritual influence of Hemacandra After some time Kumarapala must have looked upon him as his *guru*

Just as Hemacandra composed the *Siddha-Hema* grammar at the request of Jayasimha, so according to his own testimony, he composed the *Yogaśāstra*, the *Vitarāgastutis* and the *Trisaṣṭiśalākāpurusacarita* at the request of Kumarapala

From the fact that Hemacandra calls Kumarapala a *Paramārhata* in the *praśasti* of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣacarita* as also in the *Abhidhāna-cintāmani*, we can infer that in Hemacandra's eyes Kumarapala by that time must be following the ethical code of Jainism to such an extent as to deserve that title

Here we might consider the question of Kumarapala's conversion to Jainism There is sufficient proof for one answer, viz , he was trying to follow the Jaina ethical mode of life That he regarded Hemacandra as his spiritual *guru* and offered worship at the Jaina temples might also be taken as real But if by conversion is meant that Kumarapala abjured the faith of his fore-fathers and gave up the worship of Siva and other Pauranic deities, it is contradicted by other historical facts First of all, we find, in the last canto of the Sanskrit *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, Kumarapala distinctly mentioning his devotion to Siva, and secondly in the inscription of Bhava-Brhaspati of the year V S 1229 (A D 1173), the last year of Kumarapala's reign, he is called '*Māheśvara-nṛpagrani*', the foremost of Mahesvara kings' (v 47) From these facts, it becomes clear that though Kumarapala's mode of life was changed and though the old way of worshipping with animal-sacrifice was also

completely given up, he did not cease to be a worshipper of Siva, the god of his fore-fathers.

The effect of Kumarapala's efforts to reform ethically the life of the people did not become permanent, but in some respects they must have deeply affected the consciousness of the people in Gujarat This can be inferred from the fact that even to this day in Gujarat there is natural aversion to killing animals, eating flesh and drinking liquors at least in higher society and that in all grades of the Hindus it is regarded as a religious and meritorious act to give up these things

If the account of the *Prabandhakoṣa* was to be believed Hemacandra was consulted by Kumarapala even in important political matters In other matters, especially those pertaining to public reforms according to his preachings, his advice also must have been sought In the colophon of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* which was one of his later works, Hemacandra informs his readers as follows on this point

'The Caulukya king Kumarapala, the conqueror of Cedi, Dasarna, Malava, Kuru, Sindhu and other inaccessible countries through the power of his own arms, a veritable lion, a descendent of Sri Mularaja, properly disciplined and a great *Ārhata* (devotee of *Arhat*) once bowed to him (Hemacandra) and spoke, "Oh Lord ! receiving orders from you who render service without expectation, I stopped throughout the earth all things that lead to hell—such sinful things as gambling and drinking liquors, gave up taking the wealth of a person who died without a son and decorated the earth with temples of *Arhat* and thus became Samprati of the present age" ' (vs 16-18)

Hemacandra, according to the *Prabhāvakacarita* died in the year V S 1229 (A D 1173) at the ripe old age of 84 years, a short time before Kumarapala died [6]

[6] Hemacandra had a group of disciples who were very learned and who helped him in his works Of these, Ramacandra deserves special mention He is reputed to be the author of a hundred *Prabandhas*, i e, compositions Some of his plays are published, they are good as literature and show considerable skill in the technique of play-writing His *Natyadarpana*, a work on Dramaturgy, has been published in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*. It throws some new light on the history of Sanskrit Drama His *Kumara-vihara-sataka* is a fine piece of description and gives an idea of what big temples were in those days The poem should be studied carefully by every student of Gujarat architecture and art

Adapted from Introduction, Rasiklal C. Parikh, *Kavyanusasana*, Bombay, 1938.

GUJARAT DURING THE AGE OF HEMACANDRA

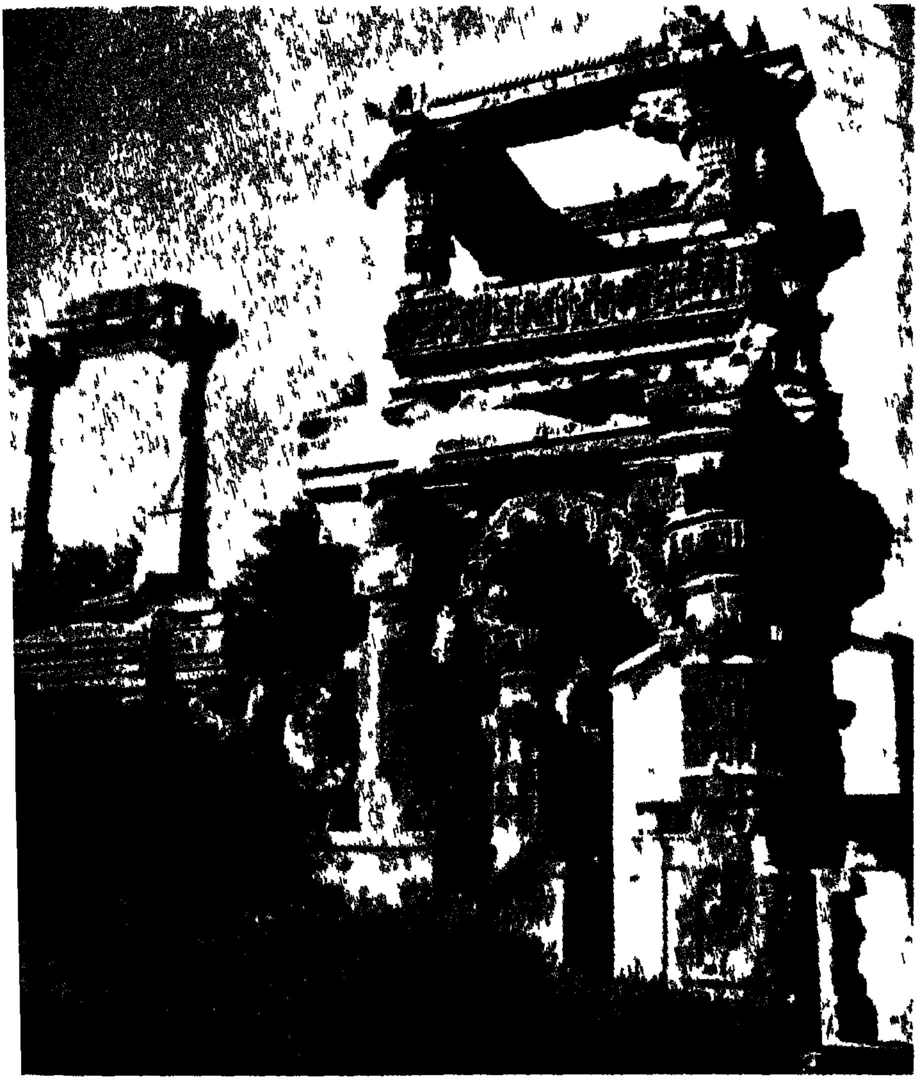
A K MAJUMDAR

Hemacandra was born in the village Dhandhuka (Ahmedabad District) on the full moon night of Kartika of V S 1145 (November-December, 1088) and died in V S 1229 (A D 1172) , thus his life covered the most glorious period of Gujarat's history

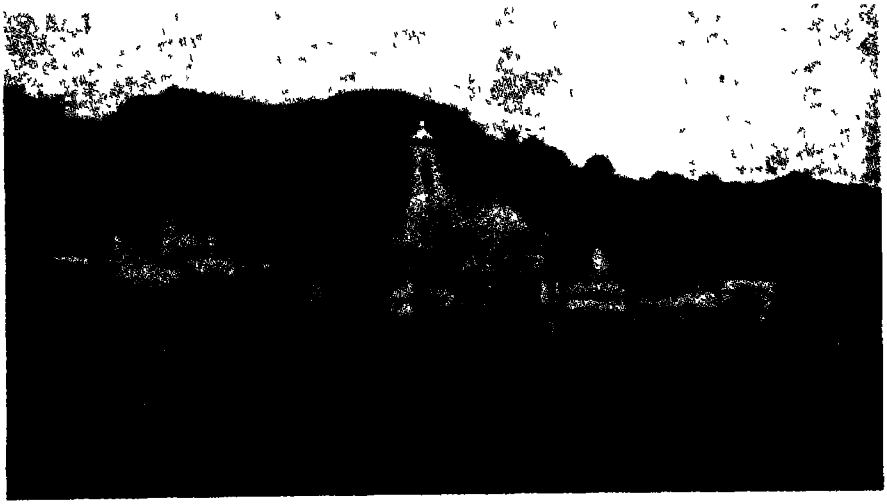
The Caulukya dynasty of Gujarat was founded by Mularaja I in c A D 940, but the dynasty gained importance during the reign of his great-grandson Bhima I (c A D 1021-1065), who, with the aid of his Kalachuri allies, brought about the downfall of the great Paramara Emperor Bhoja (c A D 1000-1055) Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Gujarat and sacked the temple of Somanatha within a year of Bhima's accession, but Gujarat quickly recovered from the effects of the Turkish raid

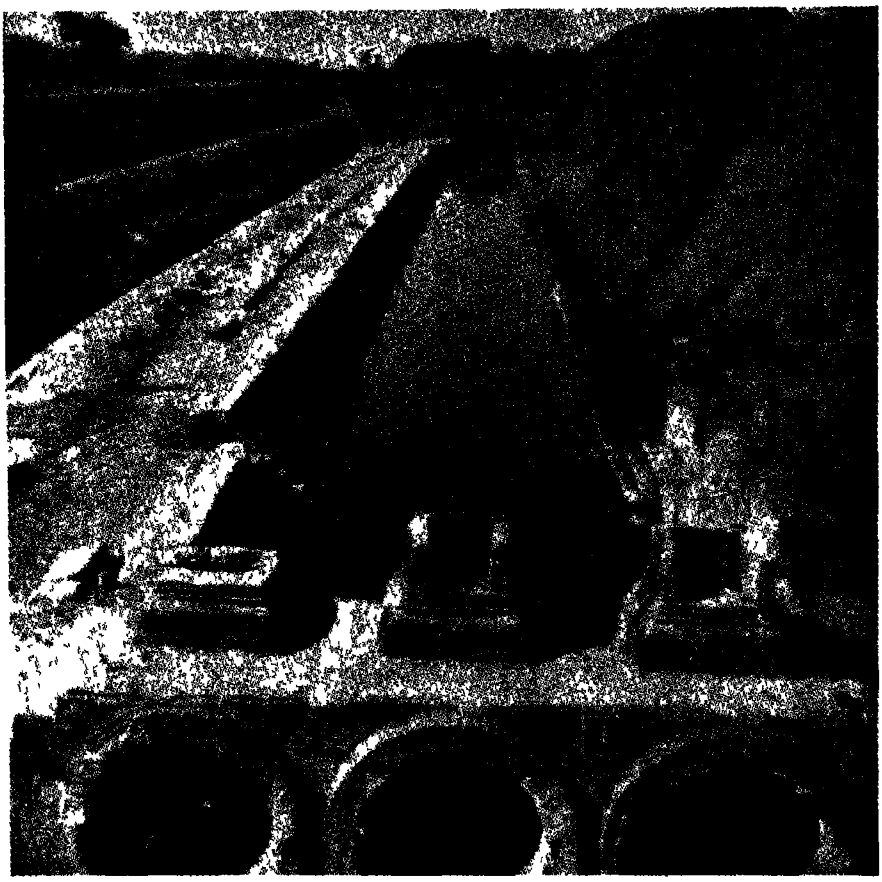
Hemacandra was born during the reign of Bhima's son and successor, Karna (c A D 1065-1093) Karna was an able king, but his reign lacks lustre because he had the misfortune to come after his father, a great king, and was succeeded by his son, Jayasimha Siddharaja, the greatest king of Gujarat, who along with his protege, Hemacandra, may be said to have given Gujarat a permanent identity or individuality

Jayasimha Siddharaja, or Siddharaja as he is usually called, was a minor when he ascended the throne after his father's death During the early part of his reign he was protected and guided by his mother Mayanalladevi originally a Kadamba princess, whose marriage with Karna seems to have had a romantic background, and supplied the theme for Bilhana's drama, the *Karnasundari* She seems to have been a re-



Rudra Mahalaya, Siddhapur





Top—*Ajitanatha Temple built by Kumarapala on Taranga Hills*
Bottom—*Sahasralinga Sarovara with culverts at Patan, Gujarat*

markable woman, and was always affectionately remembered by her grateful son, who, at the height of his power is said to have remarked

> *māsma simantini kvāpi janayet sutam idṛsam*
> *bṛhat bhāgya phalam jasya māturmṛtyur anantaram*

> Let no woman give birth to a son who becomes great
> after his mother's death

Siddharaja inherited along with his throne, the hostility of his neighbours, of whom the most important were the Cahamanas of Sakambhari and the Paramaras of Malava He first defeated the Cahamana king, Arnoraja, but conciliated him by giving him his daughter in marriage He then turned against Malava, which since the death of Bhoja, had not only recovered but had actually invaded Gujarat during Siddharaja's minority It was most probably a longdrawn out war , but the result was decisive According to the chroniclers, Siddharaja captured Naravarman, the king of Malava, and threw him in a cage , at least part of Malava, including Dhara and Ujjain, was annexed to his kingdom , his kingdom also included the whole of Saurashtra, and parts of Rajasthan

Siddharaja died in c A D 1043 and was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Kumarapala, possibly the greatest royal supporter of Jainism

According to the chronicles, Kumarapala was descended from a natural son of Bhima I by a dancing girl, which explains Siddharaja's violent dislike for him, leading to Kumarapala's flight from Gujarat and his famous travel However, the childless Siddharaja suddenly died and Kumarapala managed to capture the throne, possibly not without some opposition, but the details are not known.

From the beginning Kumarapala grasped the reigns of the kingdom in his strong and capable hands, and within a short time restored to Gujarat the glory of his predecessor's reign He died in c A D 1172, within a few months of Hemacandra's death

* * *

During the entire Caulukya period, as indeed in the subsequent period of Muslim rule also Gujarat was a prosperous country This was due to several factors, the most important among which were the location of important sea-ports within her territory The main sea-

ports were Broach and Cambay, but there were many other subsidiary ports, important among which were Veraval and Somnath The kings of Gujarat received a good revenue from the international trade carried on in these parts and in return provided the foreign merchants all possible facilities, including absolute freedom to practise their religion Muhammad Awfi in his celebrated *Jāmi'ul Hikayāt* has recorded with high appreciation Siddharaja's prompt and personal intervention in a quarrel between the Muslims and the Hindus at Cambay

The chief articles of export from Gujarat were buckram, tanned leather and leather goods, textiles Probably pepper, ginger and indigo were also exported Marco Polo adds that, the people of Cambay, "have many other commodities that I will not mention in this book, for it will make too long a tale"

A part, if not the bulk of the foreign trade, was in Indian hands Abu Zaid Hasan of Siraf, who completed the *Travels of Sulaiman* in A D 916, states that there were hundreds of Indian merchants at Siraf Mahammad Awfi, mentioned above, speaks of a Gujarati merchant named Wasa Abhir, who had a flourishing trade at Ghazni, where at one time the value of his property amounted to ten lacs of rupees Another well-known Gujarati merchant was Jagadu, the hero of the *Jagaducarita*, who regularly traded with Persia and transported goods in his own ship, his agent at Hormuz was an Indian The chronicles speak of the wealth of some famous merchants, and there is no doubt that some of them were fabulously rich, for example the famous brothers Vastupala and Tejahpala, who built one of the Jaina temples at Mt Abu

* * *

We know very little about the life of the common people But one may reasonably conclude from the existing evidence that the general social structure of the Hindus remained more or less the same from the days of Hemachandra down to the beginning of this century The Jainas also were adopting some of the characteristics of the Hindu social practices Thus Haribhadra Suri in his famous *Dharmabindu* insists on the girl's marriage in a family not belonging to her *gotra* and in the commentary it is stated that the right age of marriage for the boys was sixteen and for the girls twelve, and admits the validity of the well-known eight types of marriage In other respects also, such as the position of women, the Jaina *Ācāryas* followed the Brahmanical *smṛtis* The *Ācāryas*, however, sympathised with the lot of women and Mahesvara Suri expresses the woes of a polygamist's wife in a joint family, in his *Jñānapañcamikathā* a polygamist's wife says :

"I have my turn once in a hundred days It is better to have even a ploughman as one's husband, provided he has no other wife, than to be married to a highly cultured *Cakravarti* ruler who has many wives It is best not to be born at all, to be even without a husband and children, than to be a co-wife in any life Even if a husband tries to be impartial, a co-wife cannot help feeling slighted Only she deserves being called a woman, who is loved like Gauri by Sankara, Laksmi by Hari, and Brahmani by Brahma , others are mere she-goats It is only great past merit which provides a woman with undisputed mastery over her household Blessed are the women in whose case there is no fault-finding by mother-in-law, sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law, for then they can live as they like "

The envious expectation of a life without a caviling mother-in-law sister-in-law and brother-in-law is probably shared by many ladies in India today

Hemacandra himself has left certain descriptions in his *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacarita* which betray a striking parallel with certain aspects of modern society About the physicians he writes "Like a courtesan, you never glance even at a friend even though he is sick, even though asking, unless you are paid "

sadā sastutamapyārtamapi prārthakamapyaho
veśyā iva vinā dravyam yūam na ksanapi paśyatha

But more sweeping is Hemacandra's criticism of the morals and conducts of the Brahmins, merchants, women, and princes .

brāhmanajñātiradviṣto vanigjātiravañcakah
priyajātiranirvyāluh śarīrī ca nirāmayah
vidvān dhanī gunyagarvah strījanaścāpacāpalāh
rājaputrah sucaritrah prāyeṇa hi na dṛśyate

A Brahmin's relatives free from animosity, a merchant who is not deceitful, a lover who is not jealous, a body free from disease, a learned man who is rich, a meritorious person free from pride, a woman who is not fickle, and a prince with good morals—these are seldom seen

Apparently greedy physicians, dishonest merchants, proud and poor intellectuals, and fickle lovers were as common in Hemacandra's

days as now Indeed wealth and learning hardly ever were found together in India, and Harisena speaks of the estranged relation between the *sat-kāvya* (good literature) and Sri (Goddess of Wealth) This is reflected in a gnomic poetry of uncertain date which states "Within the house is the kitchen, there the mortar, there too the crockery, there the children, there his own study He has put up with all that, but what can we say of the condition of the wretched householder when his wife, who to-day or to-morrow will present him with a new addition to his family, must spend there her time of labour" And Hemacandra placidly remarks that generally the women of the poor conceive quickly (*prāyena hi daridrānām śighragarbhabhṛtah striyah*)

* * *

Life was neither dull nor monotonous Theatrical shows were performed which were attended by kings along with commoners Merutunga narrates an anecdote according to which Siddharaja was one night looking at a play in the temple of Karnameru, when an ordinary merchant placed his hand on the royal shoulder Though astonished at this sportive familiarity, the great king accepted many times from the merchant the betels which were offered Next morning, Merutunga states, the king had the merchant brought to the court and complained that his neck was aching from the weight of the heavy hand which the merchant had rested there the previous night But the clever merchant replied "If your Majesty's shoulder does not feel pain from bearing the weight of the whole earth what pain can it feel from the weight of me" The merchant, so ends the story, was let off with a present This story may be of little value for the biography of Siddharaja, but it is possible that in those days the kings used to sit with commoners in temple halls to witness the dramas

Various kinds of games were in vogue of which the most interesting is hockey, described by Hemacandra himself From the verse of Hemacandra and its commentary by Abhayatilaka Gani we learn that this game was played by the young men in villages during the autumn when the mud had dried, but had not become dry enough to turn into dust The participants divided themselves into two parties and each party tried to push a ball across the area of the other The ball was pushed, or rather hit very hard by the players by means of a stick which ended in a curved head But, Abhayatilaka Gani observes that, sometimes (instead of hitting the ball), a player used to hit, slyly, with his stick at the leg of one of the players of the opposite side with equal force, and this led to free fight with fists among the two parties

It is well-known that the game of hockey originated in India, and there can be hardly any doubt that in the description of the game left by the two sedate monks, we have a vivid picture of an early game of hockey Unfortunately Abhayatilaka Gani does not mention the number of players who could play at a time, nor whether the ball had to be taken across a definite line like a goal line, but from his indications it seems that we cannot be far wrong if we imagine that the game used to be played by a restricted number of players who tried to take the ball not only across the opponent's side of the area, which must have been clearly demarcated, but across its other extremity where now the goal posts are erected The important points to be noted are that Abhayatilaka Gani mentions that the game was played at a time and in a kind of ground which are ideal for hockey, and the stick with the curved ends can only be hockey sticks Not the least important part of the above narrative is however the description of the fist fight which ensued when a player intentionally hit another with his stick This touch of reality shows that both Hemacandra and Abhayatilaka Gani had either played or witnessed the game So far as Hemacandra is concerned however, it is known that he was taken away from his parents and home when he was five years old and soon afterwards began his studies , probably the Great Monk in his childhood used to witness the game and what must have impressed his young mind was the fist fight in which this village game once ended

Other games included pigeon and cock fighting and various type of gambling in gambling houses Young girls played the *karkaraka* which involved the throwing up of small pebbles and catching them, a game known in many parts of India even now Another game, which Hemacandra calls *muṣṭidyutam*, was played by both boys and girls , one had to take certain number of *cowries* in one's hand and the opponent had to guess whether the number of *cowries* was odd or even If the guess was correct the challenger lost his *cowries*, otherwise the opponent had to pay him the amount which had been hidden in his palm This game also is fairly well-known even now

Another game, which Hemacandra calls *navalayā* (unsaid) has passed out of fashion long ago Here a young married lady was placed on a swing, and her friends asked her husband's name Out of modesty and social custom, she could not of course utter her husbands' name, and had to endure blows from creepers from her friends But modesty had its limit, as is evident from another example given by Hemacandra

"Gazelle-eyed maidens going to and fro from the motion of the swing kicked the tree tops as if they were guilty husbands."

* * *

Religion occupied a very important place in the life of men in those days, and throughout the year festivals took place To us the most interesting religious festival seems to be the Durga-*pūjā* or to be more precise *Navāha*, as Hemacandra calls it in his *Dvyāśraya* But from Abayatilaka Gani's commentary it appears that *Navāha* (i e *Navarātri* as it is known at present) differed but little from the Bengali Durga-*pūjā* except that no animal was sacrificed Possibly animal slaughter was stopped by Kumarapala on Hemacandra's advice For, three chroniclers, namely, Rajasekhara, Jayasimha Suri, and Jinamandana relate that a large number of goats and buffaloes used to be sacrificed in the temple of Kanthesvari, the tutelary diety of the Caulukyas, during the *saptamī*, *astamī* and *navamī-pūjā* Kumarapala asked Hemacandra's advice on the continuance of this practice, and at the latter's request shut a few animals inside the temple Next morning, when the temple doors were opened, the animals were found to be as alive as ever, and Hemacandra had no difficulty in convincing the King that the Goddess did not really eat flesh Thereupon the practice was stopped

Among other festivals mentioned by Hemacandra was Indra-*pūjā*, intended for a good paddy harvest, held during the Durga-*pūjā* Then there was *Divālī* and *Dola* Other important religious festivals were, Bali-*pūjā*, held on the day following *Divālī* probably to celebrate the Gujarati new year , Summer and Spring festivals, that is *Dola* or *Holi* Festivities also took place on the occasion of the processions on *yātrās* of images, of which the most famous was the three processions of Somanatha, or as the inscription describes it *śrī-somanātha-prabhu-rāja-pātikā-traye*

Besides these, there were various minor religious festivals

Religion provided the motif for architectural activities, and the greatest builder of the dynasty was Siddharaja, of whom three centuries after his death Jinamandana wrote

mahālayo mahāyātrā mahāsthānam mahāsarah
yatkṛtam siddharājena kriyate tanna kenacit

The most important edifice built by him was the Rudramahalaya temple at Siddhapura (Sidhpur) which is said to be one of the largest of its kind ever built in India He is, however, remembered now for the Sahasralinga lake which was surrounded by 1008 small shrines each containing a Siva-*linga* , he also established several students' hostels and a victory pillar (*kirti-stambha*) raised its head proudly in front of the magnificent lake The *Sarasvati-purāna* states .

> *na siddheśa samo rājā na saras tādṛsam kvacit*
> *samam sahasralingena tirtham anyān na vidyate*

> There is no king equal to Siddhesa, and no lake like that (excavated by him) and nowhere is there a *tirtha* as holy as Sahasralinga

From literary evidence it appears that Kumarapala built many temples, particularly Jaina temples, but none of them has survived the ravages of time and man

CONTEMPORARY INTELLECTUALS OF HEMACANDRA

K C LALWANI

helāniddahiyagaindakumbhapayadiyapayāvapasarassa
sihassa maena samam na viggaho neva sandhānam

A lion whose prowess is demonstrated in the ease with which
he kills a mighty elephant cares not war or peace with a stag

The above is a couplet which king Bhoja of Dhara sent to his rival and contemporary king Bhima I of Anahillapura in order to test the intellectual stamina of the latter's court On receipt of this, king Bhima sent for his court-poets and asked them to draft a suitable reply This was done but the king was not happy The reply must be fitting to the intellectual challenge that Bhoja has thrown and yet none was up to the mark Then at the king's bidding there started a frantic search for a real genius that would be helpful for the purpose and the manner in which it was discovered is by itself a charming tale When the search was going on, a dance-performance was in progress in a *caityavāsī* Jaina shrine as per the usual practice of the time It was attended among others by Govindacarya, a Jaina savant, with his retenue of disciples which included the most illustrious Suracarya It was an interval and the dancing damsel, exhausted and perspiring, was reclining on a stone pillar in a rather attractive pose This in itself became a feat and the members of the audience requested the Jaina savant to give a charming verse on the reposing damsel At this Govindacarya only cast his glance at his favourite disciple Suracarya who at once came out with one describing the features of the star Accidentally, our courtiers who were out on a search for a real intellect were present in this gathering They were profoundly impressed by the verse which Suracarya produced extempore At their insistence, Govindacarya and his disciples visited the court of Bhima and received the king's request Govindacarya as usual looked at his disciple who came out with a Prakrit verse which was transmitted to king Bhoja as the most befitting reply Thus ran the verse

andhayasuyāna kālo bhimo puhavii nimmio vihinā
jena sayampi na ganiam kā gananā tujjha ikkassa

What a master-piece of poetry ! How very rich in allusion! And what a profound depth in history and versatility in mythology! Suracarya had written · "In Bhima, the creator had created the killer of the sons of the blind king, does he now bother to kill one when he could at ease kill a hundred" Incidentally it need be mentioned here that, as per tradition, Bhoja's father Sindhula was blinded by his brother Munja

This testifies the intellectual rivalry that was going on in the two kingdoms on the West Coast, Dhara and Anahillapura, at that time This was largely the outcome of the keen interest taken by the ruling monarchs, notably Bhoja and Bhima, in literary pursuits and to test their literary and dialectical talents poets and dialecticians from different parts of the country often visited the capital of Gujarat and Malava The most important subjects on which the intellectual curiosity of the time was concentrated were *tarka*, *sāhitya* and *lakṣana*—logic and art of dialectics, literature and poetics, grammar and philosophy of language In these, scholars, Jaina as well as non-Jaina, freely participated This intellectual activity was based on a high pedestal of religious toleration As Somaprabha says, *jassim samaccharamanā jalāsayā na una dhammiya-samūhā* The two courts already mentioned were by no means the adherents of the Jaina faith, they were Saiva and Sakta And they yet adored the Jaina savants as much as they did those belonging to the Saiva and Sakta faith In fact, Gujarat at this time had become a great centre of learning where works of Kanada, Aksapada, Uddyotakara, Vacaspati and Udayana were studied There existed colleges (*vidyāmathas*) around the lake Sahasralinga which surrounded the city of Anahillapura Hemacandra himself has written at length about these seats of learning Explaining the word '*vidyāmatha*' the commentator describes these as 'a type of residence, equipped with materials of feeding clothing, etc , for teachers and students made by kings' But then education here was not restricted to the elite , it had percolated to the masses in consequence of which Anahillapura had become a veritable *dharmāgāra* or abode of *dharma* We have it on the authority of Hemacandra that the people of this illustrious city were

prāng sāuryavṛttau prāng śāstre prāng śame prāng samādhiṣu
prāng satye prāng ṣaddarśanyam prāng ṣadangyāmito janah

First in bravery, first in *śāstra*, first in self-control, first in meditation, first in truth, first in six schools of philosophy and first in six *angas* of the *Vedas*

The wide-spread education—not literacy—was a concomitant of a situation in the long course of history of this country in which public debates under the auspices of some interested courts had always provided the forum for the establishment of the intellectual eminence of the great scholars Such public debates have gone out of vogue now and in recent times though we have a plethora of seminars, meetings, conventions and conferences, financially supported by the Government, they come nowhere near the great public debates among savants that was a characteristic of the intellectual life and heritage of this country

King Jayasimha who has been called Siddharaja maintained a highly learned assembly of which the king himself was the chairman He had four colleagues in this assembly, Maharsi who was a scholar of eminence in logic, *Mahābhārata* and *Smṛti* of Parasara, Utsaha who had attained fame for his learning in Kasmira (which establishes the existence of intellectual communication between Gujarat and Kasmira), Sagara who was the ocean of wonderful intellect and Rama who was versed in logic and dialectics It was before this learned assembly in the very presence of the king that the famous debate between the Digambara Kumudacandra and the Svetambara Devi Suri was held which has been immortalised in the celebrated Sanskrit work *Mudrita-Kumudacandra*

Coming now to the intellectual climate in which Hemacandra flourished, R C Parikh writes, "It was in this intellectual *milieu* that Hemacandra, the greatest intellectual of the age, lived and did his work He must have received immense benefit and impetus from such an environment but he must have also found it very difficult to shine amongst such a galaxy of learned men This, probably, explains his tremendous literary output—encyclopaedic in its scope and accurate in detail"

In the galaxy of talents that created the intellectual climate, the foremost that comes to our mind is Govindacarya, the spiritual master of our aforesaid Suracarya and such other illustrious names as Dronacarya, Viracarya, Vardhamana Suri, and many others According to the *Prabhāvakacarita*, Govindacarya was living in the reign of Jayasimha In all probability, the savant who had created so many master minds of the age must have been very old by this time Among his better-known disciples Suracarya was indeed the foremost The readers have already got a test of his intellectual calibre at the beginning of this paper Suracarya was a cousin of the king Bhima and son of the latter's maternal uncle Sangrama Singha, who was perhaps the ruler of Marudesa His earlier name was Mahipala Mahipala lost his father pretty early in life and was handed over for his education by his mother to

Dronacarya who happened to be a brother of her late husband and a disciple of Govindacarya Mahipala became a master of *vyākaraṇa*, *nyāya* and *dharmaśāstra* After finishing his education, however, he renounced the world to be a Jaina monk himself and henceforth became known as Suracarya As a young monk Suracarya was a very hard task master and soon incurred the displeasure of the young pupils who there upon complained against him to the elder *guru* This was followed by a sharp rebuke and a suggestion that Suracarya must show the power of his intellect by conquering the learned assembly of Bhoja The young dialectician understood the taunt and expressed his determination to proceed to Dhara which he later did with the permission of his master and the king His intellectual feats at Dhara are recorded at length in *Prabhāvakacarita*

Viracarya, was a friend of Jayasimha So goes the story that one day in the course of a friendly chat the king told him that the greatness of the learned men depended upon what royal recognition they could get This wounded the pride of Viracarya who now wanted to leave the city and so give up whatever recognition the king might have bestowed on him Needless to state that Jayasimha did never really intend this So he tried to prevent him But royal power proved futile before the yogic power and Viracarya flew away to Pali in Marwad A repentant Jayasimha urged him to return which he of course did after an extensive tour of different parts of the country where he successfully overpowered several dialecticians including the Buddhists in Mahabodhapura and acquired fresh laurels Two other important events of Viracarya's life about which of course no date can be cited with authenticity were the meeting with the well-known dialectician of the *Sāmkhya* school Vadi Simha and with the Digambara dialectician Kamalakirti both of whom he successfully defeated in public debate A man who upheld the intellectual dignity of Anahillapura on so many occasions at and outside the capital city could not but be the most coveted friend of the ruler

Vardhamana Suri who has called himself a pupil of Govindacarya was the author of a celebrated work entitled *Ganaratna-mahodadhi* which was completed in A D 1141 This is a work on grammar and is unique in its subject-matter

Besides them, there were Vagbhata, the son of Soma and the author of *Vāgbhaṭālamkāra*, a work on poetics, and Acarya Manikyacandra, a commentator on *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammata Vagbhata was himself a Jaina and Manikyacandra belonged to the line of Silabhadra Suri

and was the immediate disciple of Sagaracandra His commentary was completed in A D 1160 and is considered to be one of the best commentaries written in excellent style

Another important man of the time was Bhava Brhaspati He was not a Jaina He was born in a Brahmin family at Varanasi and the mission of his life was to revive Saivism of the Pasupata school For this purpose, this 'ocean of austerities', as an inscription dated 1174 describes him, left his native place and visited diverse courts for mobilising royal patronage in his mission He visited Dhara, made friends with the ruling monarch there and at last settled at Anahillapura where he was made a *Mahattara* and *Ācārya* by Jayasimha and a *Ganda* by his successor to the throne, Kumarapala *Ganda* was the title of the officer-in-charge of the Somanath temple As *Ganda*, Bhava Brhaspati rebuilt the whole temple which was destroyed by the sack of the Muslim invaders and revived its lost glory

An illustrious name of the time was Abhayadeva Suri who was the author of *Vādamahārnava* which is a commentary on the *Sanmati-tarka* of Siddhasena Divakara

In the line of Abhayadeva Suri was his disciple Santi Suri who had acquired an outstanding fame as a dialectician So goes the story that Dharma of Broach on the bank of the Narmada in Lata was renowned as a great poet His father Suradeva was a very learned man and his mother Savitri famous for her charities The family belonged to *kaula* sect of Saivism In his childhood, Dharma had no test for learning and so he was ordered by his father to leave his home and find some employment This he did In the course of his employment, however, he became the recipient of divine grace and his intellectual powers suddenly developed When he was about to cross the river, a poem suddenly burst out from his mouth which has been recorded in *Prabhāvakacarita* Finding himself a changed man he returned home but he was not well-received So in digust he left on a mission of intellectual conquest It was in the course of his wanderings that he claimed to have defeated Sambhu of Gauda, Dvija of Dhara, Visnu of Bhattiamandala and Pasupati of Kanyakubja Then he reached the learned assembly of Bhoja where he defeated scholars in *tarka*, *lakṣana* and *sāhitya* This very much disturbed the king, since the very honour of Dhara was in mud So he sent for his friend poet Dhanapala who had left the court in disgust because of an insult inflicted on his novel *Tilakamañjari* The king's appeal was based on patriotism and worded in the name of Dhara Dhanapala could no longer ignore it He returned and defeated Dharma and advised the latter to visit Santi Suri

of Anahillapura At Anahillapura, too, Dharma was defeated and he acknowledged Santi Suri as 'really a learned man'

Santi Suri was a great poet and dialectician whose intellectual and literary fame spread all over Gurjaradesa and Malava. He was born at Unattaya a village situated to the west of Sri Pattana His father was Dhanadeva and his mother Dhanasri, the family being endowed with affluence to justify the name of the master of the household In his childhood the boy had demonstrated uncommon intelligence and was taught all arts and sciences (*kalā* and *vidyā*) The learned assembly of Bhima conferred on him the title of *Kavīndra* (a king of poets) and *Vādicakrin* (a leader of dialecticians) At the request of Dhanapala and with the permission of the king Santi Suri visited Dhara as a representative of Gurjaradesa and there he was well-received by Bhoja, himself a great lord of learning and the learned At Dhara his principal mission was to critically examine the *Tilakamañjarīkathā* of Dhanapala which the latter was advised by his *guru* to get done by Santi Suri He wrote a commentary on this work Bhoja offered the great dialect cian a lac of rupees for each dialectician he would defeat and he defeated eightyfour, earning this sum and a title *Vādivetāla* from the king Santi Sur was a *caityavāsin* and he spent this money in constructing temples Santi Suri ran an important academy where he had thirtytwo disciples studying *pramāṇaśāstra* under him At his school even Buddhist logic was taught and was considered to be very difficult (*dusparicchedvā*) There is an interesting story about how one Municandra, a *suvihita* monk, was accepted as disciple by Santi Suri and was permitted to reside behind the mint Municandra used to attend the lectures of the great master incognito This he did for a fortnight Then one day Santi Suri put some questions to his students, but they were unable to reply With the permission of the master Municandra then gave reply to all and the master being pleased, he was accepted as a student Santi Suri entered into a public debate with another scholar from the Dravida country who spoke a strange language and defeated him Santi Suri composed a commentary on the *Uttarādhyyana Sūtra* which was made use of by Vadi Devasuri, a disciple of Municandra, in his famous debate with the Digambara dialectician Kumudacandra already cited Vadi Deva Suri composed a comprehensive work on logic called *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokālamāra* and its commentary *Syādvāda-ratnākara* and must have had his inspiration from his grand-preceptor Santi Suri who had perhaps started a school of logic Santi Suri died in 1040 A D

We have already made a reference to Abhayadeva Suri who was the preceptor of Santi Suri But we have another Abhayadeva Suri whose

activities extended upto the middle of the reign of king Karna He was born in a wealthy family at Dhara, his parents being Mahidhara and Dhana Devi He became famous as the *Navāngi-tikākāra* or a commentator of the nine *Angas* of the Jainas We do not know whether the Kasmiri scholar Bilhana who had visited the royal court of Karna had met this great master and what impact the latter might have made on the Kasmiri poet but it may be presumed without much difficulty that about the time we are mentioning there was an abundant contact at the intellectual level between Kasmira and Gujarat and no less a person than Hemacandra cherished the ambition of propitiating the goddess of learning whom he has described as *kāsmiravāsinim devim* To return to Ahbayadeva Suri, he was not only a celebrated commentator, but he was also a great builder He collected a handsome contribution from the richmen of Dholka and the requisite site from the villagers and completed the construction of a big temple in honour of Parsvanatha on the bank of the river Sedhi in Gujarat

Deva Suri's name has been already cited earlier He was a profound scholar and on the admission of *Mudrita-Kumudacandra* he was an accredited authority on Kanada, Aksapada, Udyotakara, Vacaspati and Udayana He was in the intellectual line of Santi Suri and was a worthy disciple of Municandra His *magnum opas*, a work on logic, as aforesaid, is *Pramāna-naya-tattvālokālamkāra* and its commentary *Syādvāda-ratnākara* He was the author of several other works and was succeeded by worthy disciples like Manikya, Asoka, Vijayasena and many others That Deva Suri had cast profound influence can be seen from the praise bestowed on him alike by his contemporaries such as Devabodha of the Bhagavata sect, Hemacandra himself and the dramatist Yasascandra and illustrious men of posterity like the great logician Yasovijaya The greatest event of his life was indeed the 'silencing' of Kumudacandra in the public debate but for which, as Hemacandra admits, there would have been no Svetambara in Gujarat

According to the information contained in *Prabhāvakacarita*, Deva Suri was born in 1087 A D His fathers' name was Viranaga who belonged to the Pragvata family His mother's name was Jinadevi Originally their family belonged to Maddahrta (modern Madhar in Palanpur State) But later because of an epidemic in this part of the country, the family migrated to Bhrgukaccha in Lata Economically the family was not very well off Deva Suri's previous name was Purnacandra but after his renunciation in his ninth year which was conducted by the family preceptor Municandra, the name was changed into Ramacandra Very soon he mastered *tarka*, *lakṣana* and *sāhitya* (*tarkalakṣanasāhityavidyāpāram-*

gatah) and became a 'touchstone' (*kaṣopala*) in current schools of philosophy, his own as well as those of others Then he started his carrer as a dialectician, first perhaps in the company of his master and then independently, successfully and effectively participating in many a public debate. Records indicate that he had travelled widely in Western India meeting scholars of different schools At his thirtyfirst year he was ordained an *Ācārya* and henceforth became known as Deva Suri Deva Suri had many learned scholars and men of letters among his friends, the six most important mentioned in the *Prabhāvakacarita* being Vimalacandra, Haricandra, Somacandra, Parsvacandra, Santi and Asokacandra According to one view-point Somacandra was none other than Hemacandra Among his admirers we may include Jayasimha himself, his minister Ambaprasada and Devabodha of *Sri Bhāgavatadarsana* The meeting between Deva Suri and Devabodha is another interesting episode Devabodha had written a verse on a leaf and placed it at the gate of the palace challenging all scholars of Anahillapura to explain it But none could succeed for six months Then Ambaprasada, the minister, introduced Deva Suri to the king as the person who would explain the verse This not only made the king a friend of Deva Suri but henceforth even Devabodha became his great admirer Later when Deva Suri had gone to Nagapura (Nagor in Rajasthan), Devabodha who happened to be there introduced the savant to king Ahladana with the following panegyric

yo vādino dvijihvān sātopam viṣamamānamudgiratah
samayati sadaivasūrirnarendravandyah katham na syāt

The Kumudacandra episode took place in A D 1125 The savant lived a full life crowded with achievements and died at the ripe old age of 83 in A D 1170 during the reign of Kumarapala

We have mentioned above the circumstances under which Municandra, a *suvihita* or *vasativādin*, was accepted as a disciple of Santi Suri who was a staunch *caityavāsin* Despite its fame for religious toleration, Anahillapura was a stronghold of the *caityavāsi* Jaina monks from the time of Vanaraja who was brought up by a *caityvāsi* monk named Silaguna Suri *Caitya* is a word for *matha*,—a monastery sort of thing which was a centre of learning as well a residence for the monks These were more like abbots living in ease and possessing material wealth They fostered artistic culture and intellectual disciplines more perhaps than those of the *suvihita* order but they were not as much remarkable for their ascetic life It was their opposition that prevented a *suvihita* monk, a more rigorous follower of the path and a better ascetic perhaps, from getting a foothold in the capital city In fact, this had become a

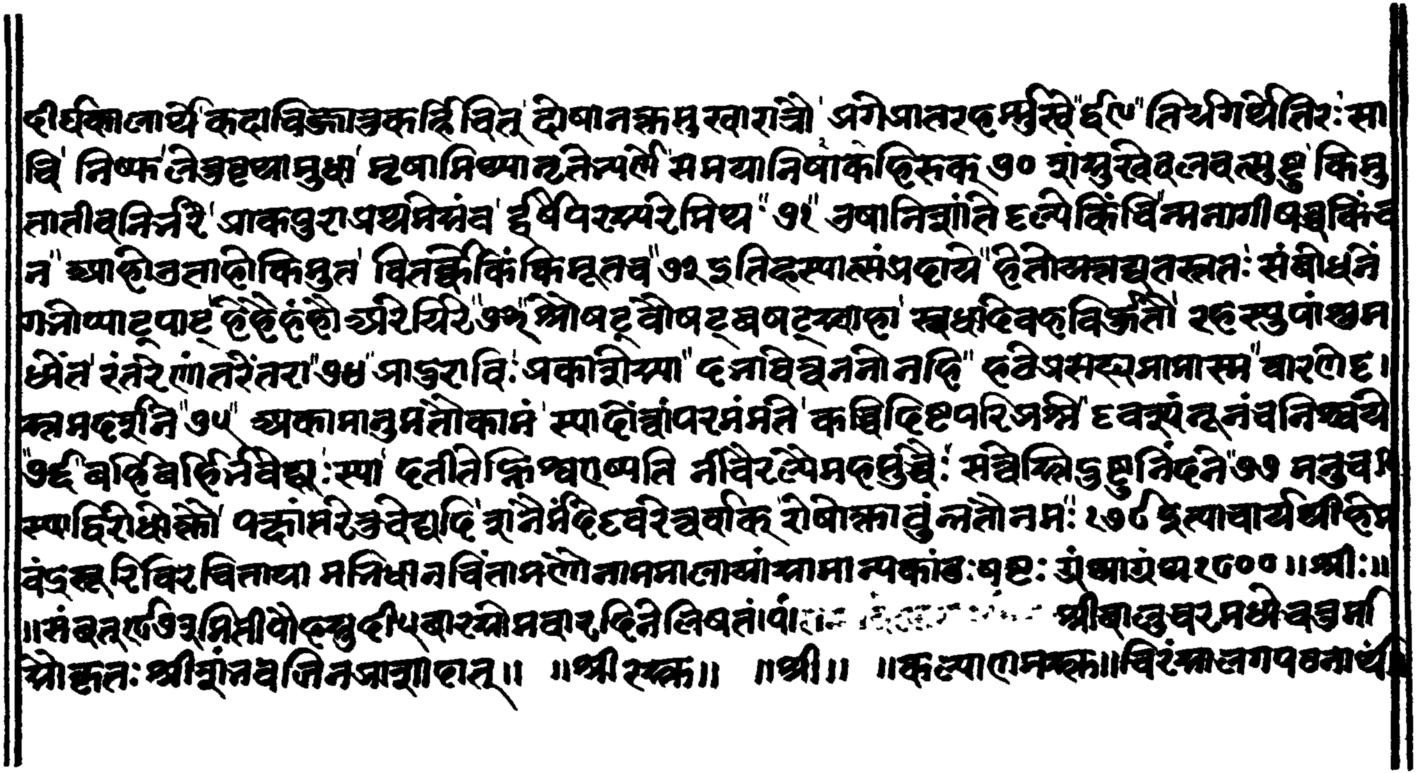
tradition till the reign of Bhima I who at the instance of his priest Somesvara agreed to allow the *suvihita* or *vasativādi* monks too to live in the capital This intercession acquired two celebrated monks (*munis*) for Anahillapura named Jinesvara and Buddhisagara Their previous names were Sridhara and Sripati and both were Brahmins from the Middle Country (Madhaydesa) who were well-versed in the four *Vedas*, *Smṛtis* and *Itihāsa* On conversion they became known as Jinesvara and Buddhisagara When they arrived at Anahillapura, they could find no residence So they saw the royal priest Somesvara They recited from the *Vedas* and displayed their mastery over the Brahmanical learning They further proved that there was no basic difference between the *Vedas* and the *Upaniṣads* on the one hand and the philosophy of the Jainas on the other This impressed Somesvara who gave residence and food to the two monks But the *caityavāsins* were not ready to tolerate this and the matter was at last forced to the notice of the king who accepted their plea of course and at the same time he requested them to allow these two monks to stay in the capital, since he could not refuse residence to respectable people The case was further strengthened when Jnanadeva, the pontiff of the Saiva shrine, too, prevailed upon the king to grant a permanent residence to the *suvihita* monks At the suggestion of the pontiff that 'Siva is *Jina*', not only the two monks were given residence on land belonging to the Tripurusa, the Siva temple built by Mularaja, but in future a series of residences sprang up for the *suvihita* monks in the capital city The barrier that prevented their stay here was thus permanently gone Jinesvara wrote a work on logic, *Pramānalakṣana*, while Buddhisagara composed a Sanskrit grammar named after him

On this fascinating subject the source-book is *Prabhavakacarita* by Prabhacandra and Pradyumna Suri, though concession must be made to the fact that this being the Jaina source, it gave a little more focus to the Jaina savants





Top—*Siddha-Hema being carried in procession on an elephant's back*



Last page of Abhidhana cintamani
Original manuscript V S 1800 Copied at Baluchar Murshidabad, West Bengal V S 1873 Jain Bhawan collections

SIDDHA-HEMA-SABDANUSASANA
DVYASRAYAKAVYA
KUMARAPALACARITA

Siddha-Hema-śabdānuśāsana is Hemacandra's first major work on grammar and was written at the request of Siddharaja Jayasimha

Grammar consists of five parts (1) *sūtra*, (2) *gaṇapātha*, (3) *dhātupātha*, (4) *unādi* and (5) *lingānuśāsana* In the case of other grammars, all these five parts are written by different persons In the case of *Siddha-Hema* all these are written by Hemacandra himself This is one of the unique features of *Siddha-Hema* which makes it a complete and consistent work. Another unique feature of it is that it is a grammar of Sanskrit as well as of Prakrit

The *Siddha-Hema* consists of 8 *adhyāyas*, each *adhyāya* consisting of 4 *padas* The total number of *sūtras* is 4685 of which 3566 describe the Sanskrit language while 1119 the Prakrit

Hemacandra has written two commentaries on his *Siddha-Hema*, the *Laghuvṛtti* and the *Bṛhadvṛtti* Supplementing these are the *Dhātupāṭha* with commentary, *Unādi* with commentary and the *Lingānuśāsana* with a *Bṛhat Tikā*. Hemacandra also wrote a *Bṛhannyāsa* on his grammar, a fragment of which has been discovered

Besides Hemacandra wrote two *mahākāvyas*, *Dvyāśraya* in Sanskrit (20 cantos consisting of 2423 verses) and *Kumārapālacarita* in Prakrit (8 cantos consisting of 747 verses) illustrating the rules of his grammar in the same order as they are in *Siddha-Hema* and at the same time describing the reigns of the kings of Gujarat from Mularaja to Kumarapala

HEMACANDRA AND SIDDHA-HEMA-SABDANUSASANA

S Sengupta

There have been in India few, if any, scholars of the stature of Hemacandra, the great medieval savant The depth and extant of his erudition was stupendous indeed and he had had no equal in versatility He was no ordinary poet and by his contributions he has enriched fields as far apart as philosophy, morals, biography of Jaina saints, grammar, prosody, rhetoric and lexicography In this article we shall briefly try to assess Hemacandra's position as a grammarian

In grammar, Hemacandra is the author of (1-4) the celebrated *Siddha-Hema-śabdānuśāsana*, in *sūtra* form with a short (*Laghu*) and a long (*Bṛhad*) gloss (*Vṛtti*) on the *sūtras* and also a *Nyāsa*, an advanced commentary of which only a fragment has so far been unearthed, (5) the *Dhātupātha* (1980 roots) with a commentary, (6) the *Unādi Sūtras* (1006 in number) with a commentary and (7) a *Lingānuśāsana* (128 couplets) The *Dhātupātha* and the *Unādi Sūtras* with gloss have been substantially incorporated in the *Brahdvṛtti* He did not write any separate *Ganapātha* but he has critically edited the same and incorporated it in the *Bṛhadvṛtti* He formulated and commented on fiftyseven *paribhāṣās* (grammatical maxims) One Hemahamsa Gani wrote an elaborate treaties *Nyāya-mañjuṣā* on *paribhāṣās* explaining in addition to the above, sixtyfive more It is a very creditable performance We should perhaps add (8-9) *Dvyāśrayakāvya* and *Kumārapālacarita*, which illustrate respectively the rules of his *Sabdānuśāsana* on the *sūtras* on Sanskrit and Prakrit languages serially The first is in Sanskrit and the second in Prakrit The first seven chapters of Hemacandra's grammar relate to Sanskrit and the eighth to Prakrit including Apabramsas

The tradition is that after a protracted fight for twelve long years when in 1138 A D Jayasimha Siddharaja Solanki of Gujarat finally defeated Yasovarman, king of Malava, his attention was drawn to the works of Bhojaraja, author of authoritative books on almost all branches of learning—rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, philosophy and what not He was specially impressed by Bhojaraja's monumental work on grammar, the *Sarasvati-kanthābharana* He then requested Hemacandra to write a grammar which would be short but exhaustive at the same time, simple

but comprehensive. It appears that Hemacandra was already engaged in writing a manual of Sanskrit grammar. He took up the challenge and basing his work on Palyakirti's *Sākatāyana-vyākarana* and his gloss the *Amoghavṛtti* (9th century) on it and consulting *Kalāpa* and other grammars brought from Kasmira by one Utsaha specially for this purpose, he completed the *Siddha-Hema-śabdānuśāsana* in course of one year. The tradition[1] is that in course of one year he wrote also the *Vṛttis* and *Nyāsa* but the *Nyāsa* alone is so voluminous[2] that this tradition need not be taken at its face value even if it is presumed that scores of scholars wrote at the dictation of the master Possibly his commentaries were finished by 1143-44 A D [3]

Hemacandra's grammar was the best among many such works written in the medieval age This is the view of Dr Kielhorn who himself was an authority on Sanskrit grammar This encomium is richly deserved As a matter of fact it will not be far from truth to say that all subsequent works on Sanskrit grammar, including Bhattaji Diksit's *Siddhānta-kaumudi* more or less follow the arrangement initiated by Hemacandra

Hemacandra's grammar is not an original composition in any way. But who after Panini can be original in this field except in arrangement of the *sūtras* and in making them simpler and more easily intelligible ? Hemacandra's arrangement is practical and his *sūtras* are simple and easily understandable While he is to a great extent indebted to Palyakirti, and has taken over many of his *sūtras* bodily, a comparison will convince any one that Hemacandra's *sūtras* are a great improvement on Palyakirti's Hemacandra was a skilful compiler He has not only incorporated whatever there was new in Palyakirti's grammar but also added new matters from Bhoja's *Sarasvati-kanthābharana* and other sources which cannot now be traced His *Laghuvṛtti* is meant for the beginner but his *Brhadvṛtti* is a veritable mine of grammatical lore He has referred in this commentary to the views of many grammarians but unfortunately not having named them, it is impossible now to trace these views to their sources *Bṛhadvṛtti* is meant for advanced students—the treatment of the problems raised is masterly brief and to the point

[1] Merutunga's *Prabandha-cintamani* and Prabhacandra and Pradyumna Suri's *Prabhavakacarita* See also Buehler, *The life of Hemacandracarya*

[2] By tradition its volume was equivalent of 80000 *anustubha* couplets, approximately 2000 printed pages

[3] Buehler, *The Life of Hemacandracarya.*

Siddha-Hema consists of 4685 *sūtras* distributed in eight chapters The eighth chapter deals, as already stated, with Prakrit and Apabharmsa dialects and comprises 1119 *sūtras* The contents of the other seven chapters are as follows

Chapter I, *sūtras* 241, deals with definitions, *sandhis* and declensions. Chapter II, *sūtras* 460, deals with syntax (*kāraka* and *vibhakti*), *visarga-sandhi*, regulation of *n* and *ṣ* and feminine suffixes Chapter III, *sūtras* 520, deals with compounds and auxiliary rules, rules regulating *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada*, desideratives, intensives, passives and denominatives Chapter IV, *sūtras* 481, deals with conjugation Chapter V, *sūtras* 498, deals with suffixes, tenses and moods Chapter VI, *sūtras* 692 and chapter VII, *sūtras* 673, deal with *taddhita* suffixes

The *Bṛhadvṛtti* incorporates the *Gaṇapātha*, the *Dhātupātha* as also the *Unādi* suffixes So with *Brahdvṛtti*, *Sidda-Hema* is a complete grammar containing more material than any other grammar then or even now in existence Bhoja's *Sarasvati-kanthābharana* incorporates the *gaṇapātha* and the *unādi sūtras* in the text Hemacandra's *Gaṇapātha* was prepared with great care and critical acumen and it is a real contribution to the study of Sanskrit grammar in that among writers of Sanskrit grammars, only Hemacandra and Bhoja have subjected the *gaṇas* to a searching criticism The only other printed work on the *gaṇas* is the famous *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi* of Vardhamana (1140 A D)

Hemacandra's *Dhātupātha* is also unique in the sense that it is the only list of verbal roots arranged throughout in alphabetical order (of the penultimate letter) It consists of 1980 roots, thirty seven more than the Paninian list (*Siddhānta-kaumudī* version) It is based on Paninian *Dhātupātha* but with modifications both regarding the form of the roots and their meanings It is much fuller than that of Sakatayana's *Dhātupātha* Hemacandra's comments as usual are critical and thorough and refer to sources not available now

The *Unādi Sūtras* are the most comprehensive in existence They account for about 4000 words as against 2000 in Bhojaraja's work The suffixes are arranged scientifically, that is, in alphabetical order [4]

Hemacandra's *Liṅga-kārikās* (128 couplets), as may be expected, deal with many more words than has been done by any other work on the subject

[4] Sengupta, 'Unadi Suffixes', *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI, Nos 3 & 4, 1964.

The *Siddha-Hema* was naturally followed by many adaptations and condensations Some of them are the following :

1 *Haima-prakāśa* of Vinayavijaya Gani (1652 A D). The text is a condensed version but the commentary is practically a reproduction of the entire *Bṛhadvṛtti* with additions.
2 *Haima-kaumudi* of Meghavijaya Gani (1669 A D).
3-5 *Dhuṇḍhikā*, explanation of difficulties by Jinasagara, Nandasundara and Udayasaubhagya
6 *Nyāsa* by Udayacandra
7-9 *Laghunyāsa* by Devendra Suri, Ramacandra Gani and Dharmaghosa
10 *Nyāsoddhāra* by Kanakaprabha
11-12 *Avacūri* by Dhanacandra and Ratnasekhara
13 *Prākṛta-avacūri* by Hariprabha Suri
14 *Haima-durga-pada-prabodha* by Jnanavimala (1607 A D)
15 *Nyāya-mañjuṣā* by Hemahamsa Gani on *Paribhāṣās*
16 *Kriyāratna-samuccaya* by Gunaratna on roots

One of the peculiarities of *Siddha-Hema* is that it has adopted the *samjñās* mostly from the *Kātantra* system, e g , *svara, vyañjana, varga, samāsa, antyastha, ānunāsika, visarga, sandhyakṣara, nāmin, ghoṣavat, aghoṣa, dhut, ghut* and for tenses and moods, *udyatanī, vartamāna, parokṣa, hyastanī*, etc

We shall now discuss the problem as to how far Hemacandra is indebted to Palyakirti in the composition of the *Siddha-Hema* A full and satisfactory answer cannot be given unless we have before us a complete Hema-Sakatayana concordance But from a limited study, it would appear that Hemacandra's indebtedness is very great indeed He has taken over bodily, with little modification or with transposition a very large number of *sūtras* from Sakatayana In case of *samāsa, kṛt* and *taddhit* suffixes, the proportion would be as high as one half or even more In case of other topics it would be lower but near about one-fourth in some cases But in every case where there has been modification, even though slight, or transposition, the result has been a simpler and more readable *sūtra* Hemacandra has incorporated new material either in these *sūtras* or in separate *sūtras* of his own A large proportion of such material can be traced to Bhoja's grammar *Sarasvatīkanthābharana* An objective sampling will make the position clear.

In IV.1 78 Hemancandra approves *samvīya* (root '*vya*') which is not approved either by Palyakirti or Panini In IV 2.6 Hemacandra

approves *didāsate* following Palyakirti Panini has no corresponding rule Such instances are numerous

Of the second fifty *sūtras* (51-100) of III 1, no less than thirtyseven are taken from Sakatayana II 1 without modification Two *sūtras* appear substantially modified and eleven are new Of the first fifty *sūtras* of VII 2, thirtyfive are taken over without change, six with transpositions of words, one has been split up, three have been adapted with slight change or addition while only two are new In IV 1, thirty-three out of one hundred and twentyone are from Sakatayana In II 4, fortysix out of the one hundred and thirteen are from Sakatayana some with only slight changes Of the new *sūtras* in III 1, seven are based on the *sūtras* of Bhoja (III 2)

For a better appreciation of Hemacandra's contribution as a grammarian, it is necessary first to prepare a Sakatayana-Hema concordance and to prepare a list of word-forms, etc in *Siddha-Hema* and *Bṛhadvṛtti* which are not approved by the Paninian school and to try to locate the sources if possible As regards new materials in the *sūtras* most are traceable to either Sakatayana or Bhojaraja's grammar, the *Sarasvatī-kanthābharana*

A few words need be added regarding the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*[5] and the *Kumārapālacarita*

The *Dvyāśraya* is a *mahākāvya* in 20 cantos consisting of 2423 verses The poem contains little of historical value but incidentally refers to some curious customs in Gurjara such as crossing of the village boundary on Vijayadasami day, *Dol* ceremony of Somanatha, a popular game resembling hockey, worship of king Bali, marriage of maternal uncle's daughters, chasing Dhundha *rākṣasī* in summer, etc It is recorded that Yadus were great drunkards, that soldiers rode mares, that they were accompanied by their wives when on march, that young ladies read *Arthaśāstra* and grammar and so on There are the usual descriptions of morning, marching armies, water-sports, love culling of flowers by ladies, night, sunrise, mountains and seasons The Caulukya kings of Gurjara from Mularaja to Kumarapala are extolled in the poems The kings whose exploits have been extolled are in succession Mularaja, Camundaraja, Nagaraja, Bhimaraja, Karnaraja, Siddharaja Jayasimha and Kumarapala Among historical and semi-historical events there is conquest of Saurastra under Grahari by Mularaja, death of Ballabha, Camundaraja's son,

[5] The text, long out of print, will be published with short notes in this *Journal* in instalments

of small-pox, Camundaraja's attempt to crush Malava, Bhimaraja's successful expedition against Hammuka of Sindhu and Jayasimha's victory over Yasovarman, king of Malava It is further stated in the last canto that Kumarapala repaired the temples of Kedaranatha and Somanatha and passed a law that the wealth of childless persons leaving a widow should not be confiscated to the state after their death There are also fanciful episodes such as defeat of *rākṣasa* Barbara by Jayasimha and his overcoming of *yoginis*

The *Kumārapālacarita* is composed in 8 cantos consisting of 747 verses It begins with the description of Kumarapala's capital Pattana and takes up the hero as being already on the throne and with representatives of rulers of all provinces attending on him The first five cantos and a part of the sixth are devoted to the description of Anahillapura (Pattana), the wealth of the king, the splendour of the royal temples of *Jina*, the grandeur of the procession in which the king visited them, the liberality and devotion with which he worshipped the images, the beauty of the king's gardens, and pleasures and luxuries of the king and his subjects in all seasons of the year The latter part of the sixth canto contains an account of the warfare between the armies of Kumarapala and Mallikarjuna, the king of the Kankana, which ended in the defeat and death of the latter and a brief account of the relations of Kumarapala with contemporaneous kings The last two cantos are devoted to the expression of moral and religious sentiments, in the seventh, they are placed in the mouth of the hero, and in the eighth, they come as instructions from the goddess Srutadevi to the hero given by her at his prayer

We have to remember that Hemacandra set upon himself the task of illustrating the rules of his grammar *in the same order* as they appear in his grammar and as a result some of the verses are almost unreadable but Hemacandra's ingenuity, it must be said, has transcended this apparently unsurpassable self-imposed barrier in many of the verses and considering the rigorous limitation the language is simple, sometimes even forceful The descriptions are never trite and in places, there is even real poetry Considerations of space however, prevents us from giving illustrations A perusal of the poem leaves one almost overwhelmed by the savant's erudition

ABHIDHANA-CINTAMANI
ANEKARTHA-SAMGRAHA
DESINAMAMALA
NIGHANTUSESA

After finishing *Sabdānuśāsana*, Hemacandra wrote *Nāmamālā*, 'the Garland of Nouns' (6 *kāṇḍas* consisting of 1542 verses) In the commentary Hemacandra gives this Garland of Nouns the name of *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*.

Appendices known as *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi-pariśiṣṭa* were also composed and placed at the end of each *kāṇda* This work is, however, not a separate entity and we have no means to decide whether it is Hemacandra's own work or that of some of his disciples

Hemacandra completed his Sanskrit lexicon by writing a supplement in six chapters known as *Anekārtha-samgraha* —a collection of words having more than one meaning by arranging them according to the number of syllables in each The commentary on the *Anekārtha-samgraha* is composed by Hemacandra's disciple, Mahendra Suri

Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi with its supplements and commentaries is, like the *Siddha-Hema*, characterised by the clearness of exposition and comprehensiveness of subject-matter while his commentary *Tattvabodha-vidhāyinī* is a veritable mine of information on Sanskrit lexicography Just as Hemacandra made his grammar unique and comprehensive by composing an *adhyāya* on the Prakrit dialects —perhaps the most comprehensive among those extant in India—so he composed a dictionary of *deśya* words, *Rayanāvali*, or better known as *Deśīnāmamālā*, with commentary, in order to give perfection to his work on lexicography.

After the composition of *Rayanāvali* was over, Hemacandra prepared a botanical dictionary known as *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa* It is however, not known whether a commentary on this work was prepared

THE DESINAMAMALA OF HEMACANDRA

MURALIDHAR BANERJEA

The *Deśīnāmamālā* was composed by Hemacandra, a Jaina monk, who lived in Gujarat between 1088-1172 A D at the court of king Kumarapala of Anahillapura (Pattana) Hemacandra was a prolific writer He composed the *Deśīnāmamālā* after his grammatical work, the *Siddha-Hemacandra*, the eighth chapter of which contains his Prakrit Grammar and his work on Rhetoric, the *Kāvyānuśāsana*

Hemacandra in the last *gāthā* of the *Deśīnāmamālā* (VIII, 77) calls the work *Ratnāvalī* (*Rayanāvalī*) This title is too general and does not give any idea of the contents of the work Dr G Buehler, who discovered the first manuscript of the work, calls it in the *Indian Antiquity*, (Vol II, 1873, p 17), the *Deśīnāmasamgraha* This name is taken from this work (I, 2 , VIII, 77) where the expression *Deśīśabdasamgraha* is used by Hemacandra as a description of his work Pischel in his Introduction to the *Deśīnāmamālā* (p 9) states that this name *Deśīnāmamālā* is found in mss AE and on the margin of the single folios of mss H and the name *Deśīsabdasamgraha* is found in mss BCDFGI where the *vṛtti* is styled as *Deśīsabdasamgraha-vṛtti* Pischel prefers the title *Deśīnāmamālā* and adopts it as it is more expressive It more clearly defines the scope of the work than *Desīśabdasamgraha* in which the term '*śabda*' has a wider denotation as it applies to both *nāma* and *dhātu* the latter of which are excluded by Hemacandra from the list of *deśī* words collected in the work

Hemacandra defines *deśī* to be "such words as are not derived by the rules of his grammar and even when derived are not current in Sanskrit dictionaries nor can be derived by any *gauṇī lakṣaṇa*, i e , the metaphorical use of words " (I, 3) Such words are further defined as "not including all provincial dialectical words but only such Prakrit words as are current through ages without beginning " (I, 4)

He has collected *deśī* words in the *Deśīnāmamālā* following that definition generally. Sometimes he has departed from the definition out of regard to the practice of his predecessors. Wherever he does this he gives his reasons in the commentary It will be seen from the above definition followed by Hemacandra in the selection of *deśī* words that his object was neither philological nor historical For this reason

he had to exclude from this collection all *deśi* roots though included by his predecessors in the list of *deśi* words because he had treated of them in his grammar (I, 3 com) and the reason for his excluding such roots from the list of *deśi* words and leaving them from Sanskrit roots by substitution is not his ignorance about their being *deśi* but because it served the purpose of economy (I, 37 com) With Hemacandra as with the Indian grammarians generally, brevity and the derivation of a form by rules by the shortest cut and by avoiding all roundabout processes though philologically correct and historically true, was the guiding principle Most of the rules in Indian grammars for substitution of one form for another illustrate this principle The substitution of '*bhū*' for '*as*', '*ghos*' for '*ad*', '*gā*' for '*i*', '*neda*' for '*antika*', 'bolla' or '*jampa*' for '*katha*', '*muṇa*' for '*jña*', '*ohira*' for '*nidrā*', '*kandotta*' for '*utpala*', '*chimchaī*' for '*pumscalī*' will show that such transformations are never meant for philological development of one form into another That in the exclusion of *deśi* roots from *Deśīnāmamālā* and their derivations by substitution in his grammar Hemacandra was guided by the principle of economy he has made clear in the commentary on the *Deśīnāmamālā* (I, 37 com) Similarly he includes many *tadbhava* words in the list of *deśi* words not because he was ignorant of their derivation from Sanskrit but because they were not current in Sanskrit dictionaries in the sense which they acquired in Prakrit Whenever a *tadbhava* word is found used in a sense different from that of the original sanskrit he gives a place to it in the list of *deśi* words (I, 9, 18 com) Sometimes even when the sense of a *tadbhava* word is the same as in sanskrit he includes it in his *Deśīnāmamālā* to popularise his work with those readers who consdider themselves masters of Prakrit, but are ignorant of Sanskrit (I, 21 com) If Hemacandra has excluded some words that modern philology regards as *deśi* and included many *tadbhava* words that any student of Prakrit even without St Petersburgh Dictionary at his disposal would refuse to call *desī*, he has done it not because of his ignorance but because he imposed upon himself the above restrictions in the selection of *deśi* words to serve certain definite practical purposes

Inspite of the clear statement by Hemacandra about the latitude exercised by him in the selection of words for his *Deśīnāmamālā* many scholars have brought the charge against him of including many *tadbhava* words in the *Deśīnāmamālā* through ignorance Dr G Buehler writes as follows

"Hemacandra, therefore, enumerates in his commentary on the *Deśīśabdasamgraha* a great many words which all or some of his predecessors had considered to be *deśis*, but which he includes among the *tadbhavas* or *tatsamas* A student of Prakrit on the other hand who has

the Petersburgh Dictionary at his disposal, can easily convict Hemacandra of numerous errors and show that he too, inspite of his rare knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit, of his large library and numerous assistants, has mistaken scores of *tadbhava* and *tatsamas* for *deśi* form because the passages where the Sanskrit words occurred were not accessible to him or not present to his mind "[1]

* * *

It is admitted that Hemacandra has included in the *Deśīnāmamālā* many words that are *tatsamas* or *tadbhavas* and perhaps omitted words that are really *deśis* But he has done this for certain definite practical purposes and not through ignorance This is also the case with his predecessor Dhanapala, the author of the *Pāialacchināmamālā* which was composed in 1029 Vikrama era (972-73 A D) at Dhara In Dhanapala's work too *deśi* terms do not form more than one fourth of the total words given, others being *tadbhavas* and *tatsamas* Dhanapala acted without any fixed principle and from a practical motive—which was to help his sister Sundari What Dhanapala did without any explanation Hemacandra does in his work to a small extent only after fully explaining his object in doing so It is then difficult to understand why it should be attributed to his ignorance

The text of *Deśīnāmamālā* is written in Prakrit *gāthās* (or *Aryā* metre) containing the *deśī* words and their meanings in *tadbhava* equivalents Sometimes these Prakrit equivalents are given in other *deśi* words The commentary on the text is written in Sanskrit It explains in each *deśī* word by its Sanskrit equivalent and gives reasons when even any word is included in the list of *deśi* words against the principles laid down by the author or is omitted though regarded by earlier authors as *deśī* One Prakrit *gāthā* is then inserted to illustrate the use of these words (having only one meaning) contained in each *gāthā* of the text The work is divided into 8 *vargas* which classify the words according to their initial letters

	Initial letters of the word in the *Varga*	Number of *Gathas*
First *Varga*	Vowels	174
Second *Varga*	Gutterals	112
Third *Varga*	Palatals	62
Fourth *Varga*	Linguals	51
Fifth *Varga*	Dentals	63
Sixth *Varga*	Labials	148
Seventh *Varga*	Liquids	96
Eighth *Varga*	Sibilants & Aspirate	77
	Total	783

[1] *Paialacchinamamala* (Gottingen, 1878), Introduction, pp 12-13

The total number of *deśi* words found in the text and the commentary are 3978 The illustrative *gāthās* found in the Sanskrit commentary on the text number 782.

The following authors on *deśi* vocables are quoted in the *Deśināmamālā*

1 Abhimanacihna (I, 144 ; VI, 93 , VII, 1 , VIII, 12, 17)
2 Avantisundari (I, 81, 144, 157)
3 Gopala (I, 25, 31, 45 , II, 82 ; III, 47 ; VI, 26, 58, 72 , VII, 2, 76 , VIII, 1, 16, 67)
4 Devaraja (VI, 58, 72 , VIII, 17)
5 Drona (I, 18, 50 ; VI, 7)
Dronacarya (VIII, 17)
6 Dhanapala (I, 141 , III, 22 , IV, 30 , VI, 101 , VIII, 17)
7 Pathodukhala (VIII, 12)
8 Padaliptacarya (I, 2)
9 Rahulaka (IV, 4)
10 Samba (II, 48)
11 Silanka (II, 20 , VI, 96 , VII, 40)
12 Satavahana (III, 41 , V, 11 , VI, 15, 18, 19, 112, 125)

Besides the above authors who wrote *deśi koṣas*, two *deśi* works are mentioned in the *Deśināmamālā* viz , *Sārataradeśi* and *Abhimānacihna-sūtra-pātha* Lala Diksita in his commentary on the *Mrcchakatika* quotes from a *deśi koṣa* named *Deśiprakāśa* Kramadisvara (in the *Samkṣiptasāra*, VIII, p 47) refers to another *deśi koṣa* named *Deśisāra*

This shows that Hemacandra had a long series of predecessors who wrote lexions of *deśi* words and he was perhaps the last representative of this host of writers This extensive literature on Prakrit lexicography seems to have perished irrecoverably and we have to console ourselves merely with the names of the authors preserved in the commentary There is only one exception viz , Dhanapala's Prakrit Dictionary, the *Pāialacchināmamālā* which has been discovered and published by Dr Buehler Dhanapala flourished two centuries before Hemacandra

* * *

Pischel in the Introduction to his edition of Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* severly criticises the illustrative *gāthās* inserted by Hemacandra at the end of the commentary on each stanza of the *ekārtha śabdas* He remarks "It was a most disgusting task to make out the sense or rather nonsense of these examples some of which have remained rather obscure to me " A careful reading, however, of the *gāthās* with the help of the various readings contained in the manuscripts quoted in

the footnote by Pischel would lead one to discover sense and highly poetical sense in these *gāthās* apart from the help which they render in ascertaining the correct meaning of a *deśī śabda* In fact these *gāthās* are not only valuable for the lexicographical material they contain but they form a valuable contribution to Prakrit lyric poetry at the same time comparable to the *Sattasaī* of Hala Most of the stanzas are miniature amatory poems depicting love scene in various aspects Another class of stanzas eulogises the achievements of his hero Kumarapala as manifested generally in the miserable condition of his enemies or their wives The remaining stanzas cannot be brought under any general heading as they deal with various topics such as condemnation of certain vices, praise of certain virtues, religious worship and maxims of prudence These are comparable to Bhartrhari's *Nītiśataka* and anthologies of *subhāṣitas* of various writers

* * *

ammāiāi dinābahea tuhare avattharārihai
nāvaliam jam jāba ya rasena tam kisalio asou bba I 22 20
(Pischel's reading)

ammāiāi dinābahea tuha re avattharārihai
nāvaliyam jam jabayarasena tam kisalio asou bba
(Improved reading)

Certainly you have been given a kick, Oh pitiable, by the lady following you It is not untruth that with the juice of *alaktaka*, i e , red lac (besmearing her feet) you are like an *aśoka* tree with fresh foliage

The separation of *jāba ya rasena* in Pischel's reading gives no sense or a sense purchased at the cost of treating two words *jāba ya* as redundant If the separated elements are combined so as to form as compound word *jābayarasena* (*yābakarasena*) meaning 'lac juice' then the stanza gives a very appropriate sense and consistent with poetical convention of an *aśoka* blossoming at the kick of a fair lady

* * *

As the *gāthās* when read in this way give a good sense they can no longer be regarded as example of "incredible stupidity" They will be appreciated it is hoped by every lovers of poetry as a remarkable feat of ingenuity worthy of Hemacandra and far beyond the capacity of his disciples to whom Pischel is inclined to ascribe them

Aadpted from Introduction, Muralidhar Banerjea,
The Desinamamala of Hemacandra, Calcutta, 1931

KAVYANUSASANA

The *Kāvyānuśāsana* was composed after *Siddha-Hema-śabdānuśāsana* and consists of 208 *sūtras* divided into 8 *adyāyas* In these 208 *sūtras*, so to say, is concentrated the whole subject of Sanskrit poetics in all its aspects. This *Kāvyānuśāsana* of 208 *sūtras* is, as the author says 'extended' (*pratanyate*) in the commentary named *Alamkāra-cudāmani*

There is another commentary which the author in its first introductory verse calls the '*Viveka of the Kāvyānu-śāsana*' This indicates that the author looks not only upon the *sūtras* but also upon *vṛtti* as *Kāvyānuśāsana* The purpose of writing the *Viveka* is expressed as 'to explain at certain places what is written and to add something at certain other places' (*vivaritum kvaciddṛbdham navam samdarvitum kvacit*)

In the *Alamkāra-cudāmani* and the *Viveka* Hemacandra mentions by name about fifty authors, and about eighty-one works In addition to these there are other works from which quotations are taken but whose names are not mentioned

In *Kāvyānuśāsana* Hemacandra has tried his best to be up-to-date regarding his authorities There is only another work which can bear comparison with the *Kāvyānu-śāsana* and that is the *Sāhityadarpana* of Visvanatha who wrote two hundred years after Hemacandra

A CRITIQUE OF HEMACANDRA'S KAVYANUSASANA

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARJEE

The *Kāvyānuśāsana*, a work on Sanskrit poetics, by Hemacandra, the great Jaina teacher of encyclopaedic learning, cannot claim our attention on the score of originality, to any great amount either in matter or in manner It is chiefly a compilation, a handbook comprehending within its scope all the important topics falling within the purview of poetics. MM Kane gives his verdict in the following words "The *Kāvyānuśāsana* is a mere compilation and exhibits hardly any originality It borrows wholesale from the *Kāvyamīmānsā* of Rajasekhara, the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Locana*" (*HAL*, p cxiv) Yet we should be chary to commit ourselves wholly to that pronouncement The science of poetics has had a very long and varied development from the time of Bharata, who may be considered as the earliest known author in the field From Bharata to Abhinavagupta—it is a far cry The period ranging between these two limits might be justly called the creative epoch during which new theories were being formulated, new schools founded, new *alamkāras* discovered and defined It was a period of experiment and research, when the teachers were able to think free and express their thoughts in a way that evinced their masterly grasp of the problems and issues involved The power of reasoning was as yet unshackled and free to move at its pleasure Even after Abhinavagupta that tradition of free thinking had not altogether ceased For we have Mahimabhatta's *Vyaktiviveka*—a product of deep erudition and meticulous reasoning and Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*—which, though from the point of view of precision leaves much room for perfection, is an attempt to evaluate works of poetic art from altogether new angles of inquiry and according to new standards of criticism But the writers who appeared at the close of the epoch were much less of creators than systematisers Mammata's *Kāvyaprakāśa* is the first and foremost attempt at systematising the then existing categories of poetics within a short compass[1] Mammata also cannot reasonably claim any originality

[1] Vide the concluding verse of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* . *ityeṣa mārgo viduṣām bibhinno'pyabhinnarūpah pratibhāsate yat na tad vicitram yadamutra samyag vinirmitā samghatanaiva hetuh.*—on which Manikyacandra,

He was a compiler—and an adept compiler at that, so much so that his fame totally eclipsed the glory of his predecessors Mammata's treatise marked the beginning of a new era—an era of scholasticism during which the study of the pioneer works fell into disuse and Mammata's *Kāvyaprakāśa* alone was commented upon and studied as the work on poetic criticism Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* is a product of this period and is subject to all the defects that are conspicuous of this age Consequently we are bound to be disillusioned if we begin to study it with high expectations But inspite of all that has been said the study of Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* is not altogether vain, as the author shows originality of thought in the treatment of some topics—however few they might be, which it is the object of this paper to point out in brief

1 Hemacandra demurs against Mammata's view that composition of poetic works has material prosperity as one of its chief rewards He contends that it is not an invariable concomitant of poetic gifts So also skill in the art of social intercourse (*vyavahārakauśala*) and avoidance of calamities (*anarthanivārana*) need not be regarded as the fruits of study and composition of poetic work as there are many other ways besides that can lead to the same goal As he remarks

> *dhanamanaikāntikam vyavahārakauśalam śāstrebhyo'pyanarthanivāranam prakārāntarenāpiti na kāvyaprayojanatayāsmābhiruktam* [2]
> op cit, p 4 (N S P Edn)

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a Jaina commentator remarks *bibhinno'piti—nānāgranthagatatvena pārthakyena sthitopi yadekarupo bhāti tatra samghatanā visamsthūlasya sukhabodhāya ekatra samgrahanam hetuh granthāh sarve'pyatrāntamagnā ityarthah* —He also notes the alternative explanation testifying to the dual authorship of the treatise *atha cāyam grantho'nyenārabdho' parena ca samarthitah* (?) *iti dvikhando'pi samghatanāvaśād akhandāyate* —op cit, pp 468-69 (Mysore Edn)

[2] Compare the following portion of Hemacandra's gloss styled *Viveka* thereon *evamānandayaśaścaturvargopāyavyutpattīnām kāvyaprayojanatāmasādhāranīm pratipādya yat kaiścit "śrīharsāderdhābakādīnāmiva dhanam rājādigatocitācāraparijñānamādityādermayūrādīnāmivānarthanivāranamca" prayojanatrayamupanyastam tatpratikṣipati—dhanamanaikāntikamiti* —Ibid

2. Mukulabhatta[3] and following him Mammata recognise traditional usage (*rūdhi*) as one of the preconditions of indication (*lakṣaṇā*). Thus Mammata cites the word *kuśala* as an example of indication based on *rūdhi* since the etymological significance (namely, one who picks *kuśa*-blades) is incompatible when it is used to refer to a skilful person. As he states :

'karmaṇi kuśala' ityādau darbhagrahaṇādyayogāt . mukhyārthasya bādhe vivecakatvādau . sambandhe rūdhitah prasiddheh mukhyenāmukhyo'rtho lakṣyate. op cit, Chap II

But Hemacandra does not include such words within the scope of *lakṣaṇā* as the so-called indicatory sense is cognised immediately without the intervention of the etymological meaning. Thus according to him *lakṣaṇā* can be based on *prayojana* alone

kuśaladvirephadvikādayastu sākṣātsamketaviṣayatvāt mukhyā ebeti na rūdhirlakṣyasyārthasya hetutvenāsmābhiruktā op cit, p 25

Visvanatha too in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* adopts the same view and criticises Mammata for citing *kuśala* as an instance since the same arguments would lead to even such words, as *gauh*, etc in expressions like *gauh śete*, etc being regarded as cases of *lakṣaṇā*—a position as fantastic as absurd, which even Mammata himself cannot accept [4]

[3] Cp *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā*
mukhyārthāsambhavāt seyam mukhyārthāsattihetukā
rūdheh prayojanādhvā'pi vyavahārevalokyate
kinciddhi śāntarārthaparigrahe prayojanamanādivṛddhavyavahāraprasiddhanusaraṇātmakatvāt rūdhyanuvṛttisvabhāvam yathā dvirephādau dvirephaśabdena hi rephadvitīyayagitvena bhramaraśabdalakṣaṇādvārena rūdhyanuvṛttireva kriyate—*kārikā* 9 and *vṛtti* thereon. (NSP Edn)

[4] Cp *kecit tu karmāni kuśala iti rūdaudāharanti tadanye na manyante kuśagrāhirūpārthasya vyutpattilabhyatye'pi dakṣarūpasyaiva mukhyārthatvāt anyaddhiśabdānām vyutpattinimittam anyacca pravṛttinimittam vyutpattilabhyasya mukyārthatve 'gauh śete' ityatrāpi, lakṣaṇā syāt 'gamerdoh' iti gamdhātordāpratyayena vyutpāditasya gośabdasya śayanakāle prayogāt*—*Sāhityadarpana*, Chap II The above text of Visvanatha is, however, based on the commentary of Candidasa, his illustrious ancestor, on Mammata's *Kāvyaprakāśa*, which runs as follows . *etacca prakṛtipratyayārthavibhāgakalpanālabhya eva yaugikeṣu mukhyo'rtha iti vaiyākaraṇarītyā udāhṛtam vastutastu bhinne eva*

3 Hemacandra differs from *Dhvanikāra* in one most important point. Anandavardhana classifies suggestion based on material significance (*arthaśaktimūladhvani*) into three categories according as the matter concerned is objectively possible (*svatahsambhavi*) or invented by the poet's own imaginative faculties (*kavipraudhoktiniṣpanna*) or again brought into being not by the poet's fancy but by the imagination of someone amongst the *dramatis personae*—themselves the creatures of the poet's Muse (*kavinibaddhavaktṛpraudhoktiniṣpanna*)[5] Hemacandra contends that this classification is unnecessary and incongruous in as much as the three above-mentioned varieties have the essential property of being the outcome of poetic fancy common to all of them Even matters that are objectively real *per se* cannot find place in a true poetic art if they are not transfigured by the poet's imagination As he remarks .

> *iha cārthah svatahsambhavi kavipraudhoktimātraniṣpannaśarīrah kavinibaddhavaktṛpraudhoktimātraniṣpannaśarīro vā—iti bhedakathanam na nyāyyam kavipraudhoktimātranirmitatvenaiva sādhyasiddheh praudhoktimantareṇa svatahsambhavino'pi akiñcitkaratvāt kavipraudhoktireva ca kavinibaddhavaktṛpraudhoktiriti kim prapañcena*[6] op cit, p 46

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vyutpattipravṛttinimitte anyathā gacchariti gauriti vyutpattyā 'gauh śete' ityādau gopadamapi lākṣaṇikameva syāt *op* cit, pp 41-42 (Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, No 46) We are to note, however, that Hemacandra preceded both Candidasa and Visvanatha

[5] Note *arthaśaktyudbhabānuraṇanarūpavyangye dhvanau yo vyañjako'rtha uktastasyāpi dvau prakārau-kaveh kavinivaddhasya vā vaktuh praudhoktimātraniṣpannaśarīra ekah svatahsambhavi ca dvitīyah —Dhanyāloka* on *kārika*, II 24, on which Abhinavagupta remarks—*tenaite trayo bheda bhavanti* Mammata follows the *Dhvanikāra* without trying to justify the plausibility of the above classification Comp *Kāvyaprakāśa*, IV, 16-17 Manikyacandra in his *Samketa* follows Hemacandra

[6] Jagannatha also in his *Rasaganagādhara* criticizes the above classification though he recognises the first variety, viz, '*svatahsambahvi*' According to him the last two varieties should be really classed under one single head. Compare his remarks *pratibhānirmitatvāviśeṣācca kavitadumbhitavaktṛpraudhoktiniṣpannayorarthayorna pṛthagnanocitā umbhitombhitāderapi bhedāntaraprayojakatāpatteh na ca tasyapi kavyumbhitatvānapāyāt tatprayajyabhedāntargatatvameveti vācyam prathamombhitasyāpi lokottaravarnanānipuṇatvalakṣanakavitvānapāyāt*

4. Mammata in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* cites the following verse from *Bhallaṭaśataka* as an instance of the figure of speech *aprastutapraśamsā* based on *double entendre* (*śleṣa*) :

pumstvādapi pravicaledyadi yadyadho'pi
yāyādyadi praṇayanena mahānapi syāt
abhyuddharettadapi viśvamitidṛśīyam
kenāpi dik prakaṭitā puruṣottamena

Here the poet eulogizes a king by addressing him as *puruṣottama* (the greatest of all men) and as such it is the praise that is *prastuta* or contextual But the term *puruṣottama* is the conventional name (*samjñā*) of Visnu Mammata holds that since *puruṣottama* when referring to Visnu is a *rūdha*-term, the *aprastuta* sense as applied to Visnu would be first comprehended, and the praise of the king, even though it is the *prastuta* sense, would be cognised later on, on the strength of the maxim . *yogād rūdhir balīyasī* Thus it is legitimately a case of *aprastutapraśamsā* based on *śleṣa* since the *aprastuta* sense gives rise to the cognition of the *prastuta* meaning[7] But Hemacandra justly holds that this interpretation is erroneous For, the context (*prakaraṇa*) as a restrictive factor is stronger than *rūdhi* and where the two are at conflict it is the former that outweighs the latter and not *vice versa* Thus the contextual meaning would be cognised first and the apprehension on the *aprastuta* sense as referring to Visnu would be due to the suggestive function (*vyañjanā-vyāpāra*) of words So the above verse should be properly regarded as an

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pṛthagbhedaprayojakatānupapatteh —op cit , p 134 (N S P Edn) Nagoji Bhatta, however, in his comments on the above text of *Rasagangādhara*, upholds the view of the *Dhvanikāra* *vṛddhoktiviṣayāt śiśuktiviṣaya iva kavyuktiviṣayāt kavinibaddhoktiviṣaye camatkārādhikyasyānubhavikatvāt pṛthaguktih tatahparañca pratinidhānasādhyapratītikatayā camatkārasthaganāt nombhitombhitādeh pṛthaggananeti tu navyāh* —Ibid.

[7] Compare *Pradipa* *atra pumstvād ityādiviśeṣaṇānām pururṣottameneti viśeṣyasya ca śleṣāt satpuruṣapratipattih naca śleṣa evāyam. 'avayavaśakteh samudāyaśaktirvalīyasī'—ti nyāyāt prāgviṣṇapasthitau satpuruṣasyākṣepenaiva upasthiteh śleṣaktve'pi aprastutasya prathamopasthityaiva aprastutapraśamsatvāt*—op cit., p 339 (N S P Edn) Visvanatha too cites the same verse in the same context and blindly follows Mammata : *atra puruṣottamapadena viśeṣyenāpi śliṣṭena pracuraprasiddhāprathamam viṣṇureva bodhyate tena varṇanīyah kaścitpuruṣah pratīyate.—Sāhityadarpaṇa, Chap* X.

instance of *śabdaśaktimūladhvani* and not as an example of *aprastuta-praśamsā* as Mammata and his followers would have it. As he observes :

atra puruṣottamaśabdasyārthadvayavācakatve'pi satpuruṣacaritasya prastutatvādabhidhā ekatra niyantriteti satpuruṣa eva vācyo na viṣṇustaccaritasyāprakṛtatvāt tatpratipattistu śabdaśaktimūlād dvanereva[8] op cit., p 260

5 The classification of our mental states into permanent (*sthāyībhāva*) and transitory (*vyabhicārībhāva*) as first introduced by Bharata, the eponymous author of the extant *Nātyaśāstra* has since then been regarded as an article of faith by the later writers on poetics Bharata restricts the number of permanent feelings to nine and nine only which alone can attain to the status of aesthetic emotion (*rasa*), while the thirty-three transitory feelings, like bubbles on the surface of the ocean appear and disappear in ceaseless succession There have been authors who dared to question this classification as stereo-typed by Bharata and meekly assented to by the majority of *Ālamkārikas* But each isolated attempt has not been successful and the number of *rasas* is still fixed at nine Jagannatha in his *Rasagangādhara* zealously upholds Bharata's scheme of classification and denounces those who try to raise any note of dissent against it[9] As far as my knowledge of poetics extends, I have not been

[8] The cogency of Hemacandra's observations is further borne out by the following remarks of Abhinavagupta in a similar context where he justifies *dhvani* in the *Harṣacarita* passage "*atrāntare kusuma-samayayugamupasamharan ajṛmbhata grīṣmābhidhānah phullamallikā-dhavalāttahāṣo mahākālah*"—cited by Anandavardhana Cp *atra ṛtu-varnanaprastāvaniyantritābhidhāśaktayah, ataeba 'avayavaprasiddheh samudāyaprasidhirvalīyasī' iti nyāyamapākurvanto mahākālaprabhṛtayah śabdā etamevārtham abhidhāya kṛtakṛtyā eva tadanantaramarthāvagatir-dhvananavyāpārādeva śabdaśaktimūlat* —Locana *on Dhvanyāloka*, Chap XI, p 241 (Chowkhamba Edn)

[9] Comp · *bharatādimunivacanānāmevātra rasabhāvatvādivyabastha-pakatvena svātantryāyogāt anyathā putrādiviṣayāyā api rateh sthāyibhāvatvam kuto na syāt nā syāt vā kutah śuddhabhāvatvam jugupsā-śokādinām, ityakhiladarśanavyākuli syāt rasānām navatva gaṇanā munivacananiyantritā bhajyet,—iti yathāśāstrameva jyāyah* —op cit, p 56 Again *etena vātsalyākhyām putradyālambanam rasāntaramiti parāstam ucchṛmkhalatāyā munivacanaparāhatatvāt* —op cit, p. 94. Also, while commenting on the number of transitory feelings as fixed

able to find any attempt to justify Bharata's classification of mental states on any firm psychological basis save in Hemacandra's treatise. The definition of *Daśarūpaka*, *Sāhityadarpana*, and all later treatises are clothed in metaphors and studied by eschewing the psychological issue at stake. Jagannatha who is noted for his proverbial radicalism and independence of judgement fails to convince us on this point.

> *tatra āpravandham sthiratvādamiṣām bhāvānām sthyāitvam na ca cittavṛttirupānāmeṣāmāśruvināśitvena sthiratvam durlabham vāsanārūpatayā sthiratvam tu vyabhiācriṣu atiprasaktam iti vācyam vāsanārūpānāmamiṣām muhūrmuhūrabhivyaktereva sthirapadārthatvāt vyabhicārinām tu naiva tadabhivyaktervidyūdudyotaprāyatvāt* op cit, p 37 (N S P Edn)

It is Hemacandra alone who has endeavoured for the first time to plant this age-old classification which at first sight seems arbitrary and irrational on an essentially psychological foundation and thus offers a scientific interpretation to a *prima facie* unscientific dogma His solution is as follows Every living and conscious being is as soon as it is born invested with these nine mental states and they can never be altogether shaken off so long as the conscious activities remain unimpaired Love and Fear, Humour and Repugnance, Anger and Pathos, Wonder and Heroism and Calm are the constant accompaniment of a man's psychological life But it is otherwise with the transitory states They can be easily got rid of if we strive to do so And this basic difference between these two groups of mental states constitutes the basis of Bharata's classification We quote here at length the following text from Hemacandra's treatise for the convenience of the reader

> *tatra sthāyitvametāvatāmeva jāta eva hi janturiyatibhih samvidbhih parito bhavati tathāhi duksadveṣī sukhāsvādanalālasah sarvo riramsayā vyāptah svātmani utkarṣamānitayā paramupahasati utkarṣāpāyaśankayā śocati apāyam prati krudhyati apāyahetuparihāre*

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by Bharata, he observes. *atha kathamasya samkhyāniyamah ? mātsaryodvegadambherṣyāvivekanirnayaklaivyakṣamākutukotkanthāvinayasamśayadhārṣtyādināmapi tatra tatra lakṣyeṣu darṣanāditi cet na uktesveva esāmantarbhāvena samkhyāntaranupapatteh asūyāto mātsaryasya trāsād udvegasya .. .. vastutah sukṣme bhede'pi nāntarīyakatayā tadanatiriktasaibādhyavasāyāt muni vacanānupālanasya sambhave ucchṛnkhalatāyā anaucityāt* —op cit, p 118

samutsahate. vinipātāt biveti kimcit ayuktatayā'bhimanyamāno jugupsate. tataśca parakartavyavaicitryadarśanāt vismayate. kinciji-hāsustatra vairāgyāt praśamam bhajate. na caitaccittavṛttivāsanā-śūnyah kascit prānī bhavati. kevalam kasyacit kācidadhikā bhavati cittavṛttih kācit ūna. kasyacit ucitaviṣayaniyantritā kasyacidanyathā .ye punarami dhṛtyādayaścittavṛttiviśeṣāste samucitavibhāvābhāvāt janmamadhye na bhavantyeveti vyabhicāriṇah tathāhi rasāyana-mupayuktavataśceto glānyālasyaśramaprabhṛtayo na bhavantyeva yasyāpi vā bhavanti bibhāvabalāt tasyāpi hetuprakṣaye kṣīyamānāh sanskāraśeṣatām nāvaśyamupabadhnanti ratyādayastu sampādita-svakartavyatayā pralīnakalpā api samskāraśeṣatām nātivartante. vastvantaraviṣayasya ratyāderakhandanāt yadāha patanjalih—'nahi caitra ekasyām striyām virakta ityanyāsu virakta' ityādi tasmāt sthāyirūpacittavṛttisūtrasyūta evāmi svātmanamudayāstamayavaicitrya-śatasahasradharmāṇam pratilabhamānāh sthāyinam vicitrayantah pratibhāsante iti vyabhicārina ucyante et seq op cit, pp. 83-84.

6 Anandavardhana, in his *Dhvanyāloka*, Chapter II, has laid down certain definite principles[10] which must be observed by a poet in introducing figures of speeches in a poem so that the aesthetic emotion (*rasa*) which is the quintessence of a poetic art is not compromised thereby The *alamkāras* introduced should always remain subservient to the latter and the charm due to these pretty terms of expression should not vie with the charm of the aesthetic realisation. Anandavardhana has cited some instances from the works of the great poets where these norms have been properly obeyed But he refrains from referring to the counter examples (*pratyudāharanas*) that would illustrate the breach of these principles [11] Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānusāsana* supplements the observations of the *Dhvanikāra* and cites verses to illustrate the violation of each one of these poetic norms with apt remarks In no other treatises

[10] Comp

vivakṣātatpuratvena nāngitvena kadācana
kāle ca grahanātyāgau nātinirvahanaiṣitā
nirvyūdhārapi cāngatve yatnena pratyavekṣanam
rūpakāderalamkāravargasyāngatvasādhanam

—*Dhvanyāloka, kārikās*, II, 18-19.

[11] *sa evamupanibadhyamāno'lamkāro rasābhivyaktihetuh kaverbhavati uktaprakārātikrame tu niyamenaiva rasabhangahetuh sampadyate. lakṣyam ca tathāvidham mahākavi prabandhe'pi dṛśayte vahuśah. tattu sūkti-sahasradyotitātmanām mahātmanām doṣodghoṣanamātmana eva dūṣaṇam bhavati iti na vibhajya darśitam*—loc. cit.

on poetics have these principles formulated by Anandavardhana been so scrupulously explained and illustrated. This is certainly an interesting feature of the *Kāvyānuśāsana* which testifies to the keen critical insight of its author and his sense of consistency We cite below the relevant portions from the text

tatparatve kāle grahatyāgayornātinirvāhe nirvāhe'pyaṅgatve rasopakāriṇah

alamkārā iti vartate tatparatvam rasopakārakatvenālamkārasya niveśo, na bādhakatvena,

bādhakatvena yathā :

srastah sragdāmaśobhām tyajati viracitāmākulah keśapāśah
kṣibāyā nūpurau ca dviguṇataramimau krandatah pādalagnau
vyastah kampānubandhādanavaratamuro hanti haro'yamasyāh-
krīdantyāh pīdayeva stanabharavinamanmadhyabhaṅgānapekṣam

atra pīdayevetyutprekṣālamkāro'ṅgī samstadanugrāhakaścārthaśleṣah karuṇocitān vibhāvānubhāvānsampādayan bādhakatvena bhātīti na prakṛtarasopakārī

tāṭasthyena yathā

līlāvadhūtapadmā kathayantī pakṣapātamadhikam nah
mānasamupaiti keyam citragatā rājahamsīva

phalahakalikhitasāgarikāpratibimbadarśanābhijātābhilāṣasya vatsarājasyeyamuktistatasthasyeva kavinoparacitetī śleṣānugṛhitopamālamkārapradhānyena prastuto raso guṇikṛto'parijighaṭiṣayā aṅgatve'pi kāle'vasare grahaṇam yathā .

uddāmotakalikām iti

na tvevam yathā .

vātāhārataya jagadviṣadharairāśvasya niḥśeṣitam
te grastāh punarabhratoyakaṇikātīvravraterbahirbhih
te'pi krūracamūrūcarmavasanairnītāh kṣayam lubdhakaih
dambhasya sphuritam vidannapi jano jālmo guṇānīhate

atra vātāhāratvam paścādvācyamapyādābuktam—ityatiśayoktiranavasare gṛhitā tathāhi-prathamata eva prathamapāde hetūtprekṣayā yadatiśayokterūpadānam na tatprakṛtasya dambhaprakarṣaprabhāvatiraskṛtaguṇagaṇānuśocanamayasya nirvedasyāṅgatāmeti na hi vātāharatvadadhiko dambhastoyakaṇavratam nāpi tato'dhikam dambhatvam mṛgājinavasanamiti.

gṛhītasyāpyavasare tyāgo yathā .

raktastvam navapallavairahamapi ityādi

natvevam yathā .

ājñā śakraśikhāmaṇipraṇayinī śāstrāṇi cakṣurnavam
bhaktirbhūtapatau pinākini padam laṅketi divyā purī
utpattirdruhiṇānvaye ca tadaho nedṛgvaro labhyate
syāccedeṣa na rāvaṇah kva nu punah sarvatra sarve guṇāh

atra na rāvana ıtyasmādeva tyāgo yuktah tathāhi—rāvaṇa ityetajja-gadākrandakārıtvādyarthāntaram pratıpādayajjanakasya dharmavīram pratyanubhāvatām pratipadyate, aiśvaryam pānḍıtyam parameśabhaktır-deśaviśeṣo'bhijana ityetasarvam lokamapabādhamānasyādharmaparasya nārthakrıyākārakamıtı tāvato'rthasya tiraskārakatvenaıvam rāvana-ceṣṭıtam nırvāhanīyam yattvanyadupāttam 'kva nu punar' ıtı tadyadı sasamdehatvena yojyate athākṣepatvenāthāpı nedṛgvaro labhyata ıtya-trārthāntaranyāsatvena tathāpı prakṛtasya dharmavīrasya na katham-cınnırvāhah.

nātyantam nırvāho yathā

kopātkomalalola ıtyādı

na tvevam yathā .

nyañcatkuñcıtamutsukam hasıtavatsākūtamākekaram
vyāvṛttam prasaratprasādı mukulam saprema kampram sthıram
udbhru bhrāntamapāngavṛttı vıkacam majjattarangottaram
cakṣuh sāśru ca vartate rasavaśādekaıkamanyakrıyam

atra rāvanasya dṛgvımśatau vaıcıtryeṇa svabhāvoktırnırvāhıtāpı rasasyāngatvena na yojıtetı op cıt , pp 17-22

The ıssues dealt wıth above, should not be overlooked when we proceed to appraıse the worth of a treatıse lıke Hemacandra's *Kāvyā-nuśāsana* Each one of these poınts reflects the crıtıcal ıntellıgence of the great Jaına teacher He was not a blınd devotee of everythıng that was old Hıs keenly ratıonalıstıc mınd was never at rest tıll ıt was able to dıscover some reasonable basıs underlyıng the commonly accepted doctrınes Thıs was no mean asset ın an age that was wont to take the tradıtıonal dogmas at theır face value wıthout feelıng the least necessıty of judgıng theır ıntrınsıc worth

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CHANDANUSASANA

The *Chandānuśāsana* was composed after the *Kāvyānuśāsana* as we learn from the first verse but before the *Viveka* on *Kāvyānuśāsana*, as the *Viveka* refers to it It consists of about 746 *sūtras* divided into 8 *adhyāyas*

As usual the commentary is lucid and interesting The information that it gives on the Prakrit and especially the Apabhramsa metres is invaluable and is likely to throw much light on the history of metres used in different modern Indian languages The illustrative stanzas also deserve attention, especially the Prakrit and Apabhramsa ones. The poetic quality of many of these verses is really high Hemacandra was not only a great writer of *śāstras* but a great writer of good poetry also

HEMACANDRA AND CHANDANUSASANA

S. SENGUPTA

The metres in Sanskrit are generally of four types Every verse is supposed to consist of four 'feet' or lines which may be identical (*sama*-types) from the point of view of metre or the alternate lines may be identical (*ardha-sama*-type) or the four lines may be of four different metrical patterns (*visama*-type) There is another variety (*mātrā*-type) in which the metre is described by the number of *mātrās*, i e , syllabic 'values' in each line A long syllable bears two *mātrās*, and a short one only one *mātrā* By far the great majority of metres in Sanskrit are *samavṛttas*, i e the verses consisting of four lines, each of the same metric pattern

The metre has been defined in the orthodox treaties usually in two ways Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* and a late text, the *Srutabodha*, attributed to Kalidasa, define metres by stating which syllables are long and which short But in most text-books from Pingala's celebrated work onwards including Hemacandra's compendium the *Chandānuśāsana* the metres are defined in terms of eight varieties of trisyllabic units and two monosyllabic units,[1] the long and the short This shorthand enables the definitions to be compressed in a few words [2] But neither of the systems pay any attention to the 'structure' of the metres or their innate rhythm with the result that the basic similarities of the metres and the evolution of metres are two important aspects which never engaged the attention of our prosodists [3]

[1] *ya*=bacchiac, ⏑ — —, *ra*=cretic, — ⏑ —, *ta*=antibacchiac, — — ⏑, *bha*=dactyl, — ⏑ ⏑, *ja*=amphibrach, ⏑ — ⏑, *sa*=anapaest, ⏑ ⏑ —, *ma*=molossus, — — —, *na*=tribrach, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, *la*=⏑, *ga*=— Janasrayi uses other symbols

[2] Hemacandra attains further brevity by indicating number of syllables by different letters of alphabet to indicate *caesura.*

[3] A very welcome pioneering study is Mukherjee's 'Rhythm in Sanskrit Syllabic Metres', *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol VII, No. 3, 1965

As is the practice with Hemacandra, he has sought to be exhaustive on the subject of metres in his *Chandānuśāsana* In this brief study we shall compare its contents as regards Sanskrit metres with those of the two popular text-books the *Chandamañjarī* of Gangadasa and the *Vṛtta-ratnākara* of Kedara, which is earlier Pingala has treated Vedic prosody as well as the prosody of the classical Sanskrit In what follows, we shall mostly confine ourselves to the *samavṛttas* It may be noted here that in the classical literature we meet with only about twentyfive metres Poets like Magha and Bharavi composed verses in rare metres to show their metrical skill. But even then this brings in at most thirty more, bringing the total to about fiftyfive only[4] In *Chandamañjarī* we find 122 metres defined by the author himself of which he has given illustrations as also some 104 more defined by Kedara or his commentator which the author has not illustrated In the following table we shall state the number of metres defined by Gangadasa and Kedara and also by Pingala and Hemacandra

Akṣaras	Pingala	Kedara	Gangadasa	Hemacandra
1		1	1	1
2		1	1	4
3		2	2	4
4		1	2	8
5		1	2	10
6	1	4	3	19
7	1	1	3	20
8	4	6	6	15
9	2	2	3	19
10	6	7	4	20
11	12	16	13	28
12	16	23	16	36
13	4	6	9	26
14	4	6	7	22
15	2	5	9	20
16	1	2	9	20
17	5	6	9	13
18	1	1	5	19
19	1	1	5	13
20	2	2	4	11
21	1	1	2	8
22	1	1	2	5
23	2	2	2	7

4 Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp 418-21

Akṣaras		Pingala	Kedara	Gangadasa	Hemacandra
24		1	1	1	7
25		1	1	1	4
26		1	2	1	5
		—	—	—	—
	Total	69	102	122	364
				App 104	
				226	

Hemacandra had evidently all the authoritative texts before him He gives alternative names of metres in many cases For instance, regarding metre *samgatam* he remarks '*padmamukhī-suratāvasthām-uddharanam-sopānakam cetyanye*' He has extensively referred to Bharata Thus on metre *pritthur*, he notes '*vilamvitagatīrīti bharatah*' He notes again that Bharata's name for what is now known as *mandākrāntā* metre was *śrīdharā*

Hemacandra was a poet of great ability and he has illustrated every one of the metres with verses of his own, many of which are exquisite [5] A few of his verses, chosen at random, will be reproduced at the end of of the article

The *Chandānuśāsana* consists of eight chapters Briefly these deal with

			sūtras
Chapter	I	Definitions and abreviations	17
Chapter	II	*Jāti*, i e, '*sama*' metres	401
Chapter	III	*Ardha-sama metres*, *visama* metres, *vaitālīya* and other *mātrā* metres, *mātrā-sama* metres	73
Chapter	IV	*Gāthā*, i e, *ārya* metres These are Prakrit metres	91
Chapter	V	Apabhramsa metres	42
Chapter	VI	Apabhramsa metres continued—*catuspadī* and *satpadi*	32
Chapter	VII	Apabhramsa metres continued—*dvipadi*	73
Chapter	VIII	*Prastāra*	17
			746

[5] Hemacandra in chapters IV-VIII has dealt with about 340 metres This by far exceeds the number of metres treated in any other work on Prakrit (and Apabhramsa) metres There are 1006 verses almost all perhaps composed by Hemacandra himself of which 626 are in Sanskrit

In *Chandamañjari* there are eight '*sama*' and two '*ardha-sama*' metes[6] which have not been recorded by Hemacandra. Besides there are twentyfour '*sama*', one '*visama*' and one '*ardha-sama*' metres[7] which bear different names in Hemacandra's work Similarly four '*sama*' metres of Kedara have different names here A few '*sama*' metres are also defined slightly differently[8] Thirtyone '*sama*' metres in *Chandamañjari* out of one hundred and four not illustrated appear to be new. Taking all these into account, in the field of '*sama*' metres alone, Hemacandra's work has recorded no less than one hundred and sixtynine metres in addition to one hundred and nintyfive common to *Chandamañjari* and *Chandānuśāsana* It will thus be seen that *Chandānuśāsana* of Hemacandra may justly be considered an encyclopaedia on Sanskrit and Prakrit metrical forms.

We conclude by quoting a few short verses from the work just to give an idea of Hemacandra's versatility, his command over language and metre His contribution to the science of words has indeed been stupendous His erudition was unparalled and profound, and he has been known to his admirers for generations as *Kalikālasarvajña*, one

[6] *Priyā* (slg), *Gajagati* (nblg), *Vāsanti* (mtnmgg), *Vipinatilaka* (ssnrr), *Garudaruta* (njbjtg), *Surasā* (mrbnyng), *Gitikā* (sjjbrslg), *Hamsī* (sstnnnjg), *Kaumudi* (nnbr, nnrr), *Mañjusaurabha* (njjr, sjyjg) Here m= — — —, n= ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, y= ⏑ — —, r= — ⏑ —, t= — — ⏑, b= — ⏑ ⏑, s= ⏑ ⏑ —, j= ⏑ — ⏑, l= ⏑, g= —

[7] These names in Hemacandra are given in brackets *Sālī* (*Mṛgabadhū*), *Sarasī* (*Siddi*), *Mañjubhāṣinī* (*Nandinī*), *Narāca* (*Niśā*), *Citralekhā* (*Candralekhā*), *Aśokamañjarī* (*Aśokapuṣpamañjarī*), *Vidyullekhā* (*Sāvitrī*), *Madhumatī* (*Harivilasitā*), *Anukulā* (*Pratyavabodha, Srī*), *Manimālā* (*Puṣpavicitrā*), *Candī* (*Kamalākṣī*), *Candrikā* (*Kutilagati*), *Praharanakalikā* (*kalitā*), *Lolā* (*alolā*), *Nāndīmukhī* (*Vasanta*), *Līlākhelā* (*Kāmakrīdā*), *Pravaralalitā* (*Jayānandā*), *Nardataka* (*Avitatha*), *Kalahamsa* (*Kūtaja*), *Kusumastavaka* (*Kusumāstarana*), *Mattamātangalīlākara* (*Mattamātanga*), *Mandākinī* (*Pramuditavadanā, Prabhā*), *Mañjarī* (*Kalikā*), *Sundarī* (*Prabodhitā*) In addition the *Vṛtta-ratnākara* has some metres otherwise named by Hemacandra, e g, *Prabhāvatī* (*Lakṣmī*), *Induvadanā* (*Skhalitā*), *Upacitrā* (*Viduṣī*) *Anavasitā* (*Patitā*)

[8] *Panava* mnjg for mnyg *Lalanā* vtns for bmns *Elā* sjjny for sjnny *Candrakāntā* : rrmyya for rrmsy *Mahāsragdharā* . sttnsrrg for sjtnsnrg

who in this *kali* age is knower of everything that is knowable—an epithet which he alone very rightly deserves

ballavam surabhimiemanaṅgam dākṣiṇātyapavanam suhṛdanca pṛcchatiha parapuṣṭavighuṣṭaih svāgatāni niyatam vanalakṣmih

bhrāntagṛdhravrandakankamandalam śyenikā tvadiyavairivāhini āpatat kṛtāntaraudrakinkaravyākuleva lakṣyate kṣamāpate

samullasaddaśanamayukhacandrikā tarangite tava vadanendumandale sulocane kalayati lāñchanacchavim ghanañjanadravarucirālakāvali

āvāsah parnaśālā bapuṣi ca vasanam nūtanā tvak tarunām pānāvāṣādhayaṣtih śirasi ca cikurairnavyagumpho jaṭānām karne'kṣasrag dharāyāh paribrdhavipine tvadbhayāt sampratittham vṛttirdvitrairahobhistvdariṇṛpajanaih śikṣitā tāpasānām

janayati mahatim prītim hṛdaye kāminām cūtamañjari miladalicakracancuparicumbitakesarā komalamalayavātaparinartita-taruśikharāsthitā

YOGASASTRA

Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* consists of 12 *prakāśas* comprising 1014 verses *Yoga* is described as the thing that leads to liberation and it consists of 'three jewels' —Right Attitude, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct The first three *prakāśas* are devoted to Jaina ethics In the fourth *prakāśa*, the soul is identified with the 'three jewels' and then follows the description of *yoga* including *āsanas* which embodies the substance of the *yoga*-system of Patanjali The fifth describes the control of breath and the acquisition of ocult powers The rest of the *prakāśas* are devoted to sundry topics connected with yoga

The commentary on the first four *prakāśas* is prolix, in the style of Jaina sermons, introducing anecdotes, stories, etc , while on the remaining *prakāśas*, it is brief Probably the commentary is not the work of Hemacandra himself but of one of his pupils The *Yogaśāstra* was prepared towards the close of his life It was written about 1160 A D at the request of Kumarapala

THE YOGASASTRA OF HEMACANDRA

NATHMAL TATIA

The Indian systems of philosophy are not mere speculations on the nature of things but, with all sincerity and earnestness at their command, they dive deep into the mysteries of the universe in order to find the way out of the limitations of the worldly existence vitiated by perversities and crippled by various privations and disabilities The perfect unfolding of the potentialities of the self is the object aimed at The pursuit of truth must culminate in the realisation of truth The ordinary sources of knowledge are found to be inadequate for the discovery of the ultimate truth, being subject to the limitations imposed by the senses The intellect, though possessed of a superior status in that it organises the data of experience into a system, is also not immune from the limitations of the senses and has been found to record varying and conflicting conceptions which cannot all be true For this we must fall back upon another organ and this organ is meditation free from the visitations of the extraneous influences Self-meditation is common to all, and is a process of supreme importance to all the Indian systems Meditation on the nature of self is the only means of realising the truth One cannot grasp the truth unless one meditates upon it, and one cannot realise it unless one grasps it Implicit faith in the truth, whether born with the help of the preceptor or fostered by a spontaneous intuition of the truth, is the starting point on the path of spiritual realisation There are various processes of leading oneself from this stage of implicit faith in the truth to the stage of final realisation of the truth The processes have a common term for them, and that term is *yoga* Let us now study the essential characteristics of the Jaina conception of the pathway to emancipation, in other words, the Jaina *yoga*[1]

[1] The term *yoga* has a chequered history 'The word *yoga* occurs in the earliest sacred literature of the Hindus in the *Rigveda* (about 3000 B C) with the meaning of effecting a connection Later on, in about 700 or 800 B C the same word is used in the sense of yoking a horse In still later literature (about 500 or 600 B C) it is found with the meaning of controlling the senses, and the senses themselves are compared with uncontrolled spirited horses The word probably represents a very old original of the Aryan stock, which can be traced also in the German *joch*, OE *geoc*, Latin *jugum*, Greek *zugon*' Dasgupta, *Philosophical Essays*, Calcutta University, 1941, p 179 'In Panini's time the word *yoga* had attained its technical meaning, and he distinguised the root *yuj samadhau* (*yuj* in the sense of concentration) from *yujir yoge* (*yujir* in the sense of connecting)' Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol I, p 226 It is, so far as my

The trio of right attitude, right knowledge and right conduct constitutes, according to the Jainas, the pathway to final emancipation [2] Right attitude or *samyag-darśana* is the predilection or love for truth Every soul has such predilection in some measure But unless and until it develops into a self-conscious pursuit of truth, it does not help spiritual progresss It is only at the stage of self-conscious effort for spiritual advancement that this love of truth is called *samyag-darśana* After the acquisition of this characteristic the soul passes through a number of stages of spiritual development, technically known as *gunasthānas* The attainment of right attitude (*samyag-darśana*) is followed by the attainment of right knowledge (*samyag-jñāna*) and right conduct (*samyag-cāritra*) The soul acquires more and more power for self-concentration (*dhyāna*) along with the increase of its purity and consequent attainment of the corresponding stages of spiritual development It is generally believed that the Jainas, from the very outset, put their whole stress on physical austerity and more or less neglected the aspect of meditation and self-concentration But this belief is not true Physical austerity is only an index of spiritual detachment [3] The identification of the soul with the body is the root evil to be got rid of And this is possible only if one practises detachment from the body The natural consequence of this practice of detachment is indifference towards it. The practice of detachment is incompatible with the care of its well-being The works of Acarya Kundakunda, Pujyapada and Jinabhadra contain elaborate instructions in self-meditation and concentration of mind The works of Haribhadra record a number of different doctrines of *yoga* and their comparative evaluation The *Jñānārnava* of Subhacandra and the *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra are valuable works on *yoga* Upadhyaya Yasovijaya revived the study of Haribhadra's works on *yoga*. The Jaina mind was always conscious of the efficacy of meditation for the achievement of final emancipation But it abhorred the acquisition of supernormal powers by means of the *yogic* processes Self realisation was the only aim to be fulfilled by *yoga*

knowledge goes, only Haribhadra who defined the term *yoga* in the sense of 'what leads one to emancipation' for the first time in the history of Jaina thought. (cf *mukkhena joyanao jogo savvo vi dhammavavaro*, *Yogavimsika*, *karika*, *I*) This meaning of the term is unanimously accepted in the post-Haribhadra Jaina literature. Of course, the term *yoga* was used in the general sense of subduing the senses and the mind and the processes of concentration and ecstasy even in the earlier stages of the Jaina thought as well as in the early Buddhist thought But the terms *jhana* (*dhyana*) and *samadhi* were more in vogue than the term *yoga* It is only in the *Yogasutra* of Patanjali that we find the proper location of *dhyana* in the whole process called *yoga* for the first time.

[2] *Tatvartha Sutra*, I 1

[3] Samantabhadra, *Brhatsvayambhustotra*, 83

Yoga, according to Hemacandra, is the cause of final emancipation and consists in the threefold jewels of right knowledge, right attitude and right conduct.[4] Hemacandra has discussed in detail the nature of right conduct [5] But then what is the ultimate nature of right knowledge, right attitude, and right conduct ? Hemancandra says that it is the self of the ascetic that is right knowledge, right attitude and right conduct [6] They are nothing but the comprehension of the self in the self by the self on account of the disappearance of the eternal delusion [7] Emancipation is nothing but the conquest of the passions and the senses One cannot conquer the passions unless one conquers the senses And the conquest of senses is dependent upon purification of mind One should conquer the tendencies of attachment and hatred for the purification of the mind [8] And these tendencies can be conquered by equanimity (*samatva*) Equanimity however is possible only if one has completely given up the senses of mine-ness And one should take resort to the twelvefold contemplation[9] in order to conquer the sense of mine-ness [10] One should practise *dhyāna* after one has attained equanimity, because without equanimity one would try in vain to achieve concentration of mind (*dhyāna*) [11] Concentration of mind leads one to the knowledge of the self, and the knowledge of the self leads to the destruction of the *karmas*, which means emancipation [12] Hemacandra then classifies *dhyāna* as *dharmya* and *śukla* The four virtues of friendship (*maitri*), appreciation (*pramoda*), sympathy (*kārunya*) and indifference (*mādhyasthya*) are recognised as the sustainers of *dharmya dhyāna* Hemacandra also deals with the question of the selection of proper

[4] *Yogasutra*, I, 15
[5] Ibid , I-III
[6] Ibid , IV, 1
[7] Ibid , IV, 2
[8] Ibid , IV, 45
[9] The fleeting nature of things, the helplessness of one involved in the worldly existence, the nature of the world itself as fraught with misery and suffering, the loneliness of the worldly sojourn, the transcendental nature of the self as distinct and separate from the body, the impure character of the body, the conditions of the inflow of *karmic* matter and the consequent misery and suffering, the nature of the condition of the stoppage of *karmic* inflow, the nature of the condition of the dissociation of *karmic* matter from the soul, the nature of the constituents of the universe, the difficulty of the attainment of enlightenment and the rightness of the path of righteousness one has selected to tread upon The *bhavanas* are also known as *auupreksas*
[10] *Yogasutra*, IV, 55
[11] Ibid IV, 112
[12] Ibid , IV, 112

place, postures[13], regulation of breath (*prāṇāyāma*)[14], withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*) of the mind with the senses, and fixing (*dhāraṇā*)[15] of the mind on different places In these matters he closely follows Subhacandra. Hemacandra also recognises the types of *pindastha*, *padastha*, *rūpastha* and *rūpātita dhyāna*[16] The other particulars about the *dharmyha dhyāna* are as they are usually found elsewhere

Hamacandra states some facts about *dhyāna* on the basis of his own experience He distinguishes four kinds of mental states viz, scattered (*vikṣipta*), scattered-cum-collected (*yātāyāta*), collected (*śliṣta*) and merged (*sulīna*)[17] The scattered mind is ever restless. The scattered-cum-collected can sometimes concentrate itself and experience spiritual joy The third kind is capable of greater concentration and spiritual joy The mind reaches the fourth state when it becomes perfectly steady and enjoys supreme bliss Hemacandra also recognises three distinct selves viz, the exterior, the interior, and the transcendental, and prescribes the rejection of the exterior, and concentration upon the transcendental by the interior[18] He insists upon the help and guidance of a competent *guru* (preceptor) for the revelation of truth[19] He insists also upon the supreme importance of the practice of detachment and indifference. He discourages forcible withdrawal of the mind and the senses, but asks to control them by means of the practice of indifference When the soul ceases to impel the mind, the mind has no reason to impel the senses And the senses being inactive, the worldly things lose all charm and fascination Gradually the mind ceases to exist With the cessation of the mind truth reveals itself to the soul

[13] Ibid, IV, 123-33
[14] Ibid, V, 1-273
[15] Ibid, VI, 6-8
[16] Ibid, VII-X Hemacandra uses the word *sarirastha* for *pindastha*
[17] Ibid, XII, 4
[18] Ibid, XII, 6
[19] Ibid, XII, 13-17

Adapted from 'Jaina Yoga', Nathmal Tatia, *Studies in Jaina Philosophy*, Varanasi, 1951

TRISASTISALAKAPURUSACARITA

Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita is a great work in 10 *parvas* containing about 34000 *ślokas*

The sixtythree *śalākāpuruṣas* are the great personages, who, according to the belief of the Jainas, have, in the current *avasarpiṇī*, risen in the history of the world and directed or influenced its course, they comprise the twenty-four *Tīrthankaras*, the twelve *Cakravartins*, the nine *Vāsudevas*, the nine *Baladevas* and the nine *Prativāsudevas*

The biographies of these great personages vary greatly in extent and interest Some consist of little but statistics, others are rich in folk-lore, fiction, exposition of Jaina doctrines, etc

It is one of the latest works of Hemacandra, as is evident from the *praśasti* to the tenth *prava*, where he enumerates works that he has written for king Kumarapala, for himself, and for the people

It is written in an easy style of *anustubha* metre on the model of the *Purānas*, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, and contains fine descriptions

EXCERPTS FROM TRISASTISALAKAPURUSACARITA

HELEN M. JOHNSON

One day, when Spring, the abode of love, had come, the Lord went to a garden to please his retinue. There in a bower of flowers, the Master of the World, adorned with ornaments of flowers, sat like Spring personified. The Laksmi of Spring, as it were, gave welcome to the Lord of the World by humming bees intoxicated by the juice of blossoming mango trees. An overture, as it were, being performed by cuckoos singing the fifth note, the wind from Malaya, the leader of the dance, showed the dance of the creepers. Gazelle-eyed maidens gave embraces, kicks, and nectar from their lips to the *henā* plant, *aśokas* and *bakula*, as if to lovers. A bee, delighted with strong fragrances, like a *tilaka*, made the wood look like the forehead of a young man. The *lavalī* creeper was bent with the weight of clusters of blossoms, like a slender-waisted maiden with the very great weight of her swelling breasts.

The wind from Malaya slowly, slowly embraced the mango-shoot, like a well-versed lover an innocent young girl. Love, like one carrying a club, was strong enough to kill the travellers with his clubs in the form of stalks of *jambu*, *kadamba*, *āmra*, *campaka* and *aśoka*. To whom did not the wind from Malaya, like water, give pleasure, made fragrant by union with fresh flowers of the trumpet-flower tree ? The *mahuā*, stored with sweet juices like a dish of honey, was filled with humming by the bees approaching. Balls were arranged, I think, under the guise of *kadamba*-flowers, to make practice of ball and bow by the God of Love. The *vāsantī*-flower was made a well of juice for bee-travellers by Spring, as if devoted to establishing water-supplies for the public. The *sindhuvāra* caused great stupor to travellers by its blossoms' wealth of perfume hard to restrain like poison in the nose. The bees wander fearlessly like guards appointed over the *campakas* by the gardener of Spring. Spring showed a wealth of fine and superfine trees and plants, like the youth of men and women.

Gazelle-eyed maidens began to gather flowers there as if eager to give wealth to the great *tīrtha* of Spring. "Since we have become weapons of Smara, what need of other weapons ?"—as if with this idea, the amorous women gathered flowers. Her flowers having been gathered, pained

by separation from them, the *vāsantī* cried out, as it were, by bees humming low One maiden, when she had gathered jasmine, stopped as she was going away, because her dress clung to it, as if restrained by the jasmine, saying, "Do not go elsewhere." As one was gathering *campaka*, she was stung on the petal-lip by a young bee flying up as if from anger at the breaking up of his shelter One, with her creeper-arm raised, gathered flowers very high together with the minds of young men who saw the hollow of her arm Creepers looked like living gatherers of flowers, with hands that were masters of clusters of fresh flowers The trees looked as if they bore women as fruit, with women clinging to each branch from the desire to gather flowers

One man made a body-ornament for his sweet-heart from jasmine flowers that he himself had gathered, which resembled a wreath of pearls One filled his sweetheart's coil of hair with full-blown flowers with his own hand, like a quiver of the God of Love One satisfied his beloved by giving a wreath, resembling the rainbow, woven by himself from five-coloured flowers One gracefully caught in his hands a ball of flowers thrown by his sweet-heart, like a servant a gratuity Gazelle-eyed maidens going to and fro from the motion of the swings kicked the tree-tops as if they were guilty husbands One bride, seated in a swing, endured blows from creepers from her women friends who asked her husband's name, her mouth sealed from modesty One man who was seated with a timid-eyed maiden opposite, swung the swing very hard from the desire for a close embrace with her Young men engaged in the sport of swinging the swings on every branch looked like monkeys on the garden-trees

While the citizens were playing there in this way, the Master thought, "Is there such sport anywhere else ?" Then by clairvoyant knowledge the Master knew the very highest pleasure of heaven and that pleasure of *Anuttara* heaven formerly enjoyed by himself His bonds of delusion dropping away, again he reflected thus "Alas ! these people, overcome by sense-objects, do not know their own good Ah ! in this well of *samsāra*, *jīvas* from their *karma* perform actions that are nothing more than coming and going like a jar on a water-wheel Alas ! alas ! for creatures whose minds are blinded by delusion this birth always passes in vain like the night for those asleep Love, hate and delusion cut down peoples' *dharma* at the root, even though it is shooting up, like rats a tree Ah ! anger is made to grow by the foolish like a banyan-tree which will entirely consume even its own cultivator Men mounted on conceit consider nothing, like elephant-drivers mounted on elephants crossing a boundary Evil-hearted creatures do not abandon deceit which

always causes trouble like the seed-vessel of the *kapikacchū* Even a spotless collection of virtues is spoiled by greed alone, like milk by sour gruel, or a white cloth by collyrium So long as the four passions close at hand watch like guards in the prison of worldly existence, whence will *mokṣa* come to men ? Persons, engaged in the embraces of women, as if afflicted by *bhūtas* do not know themselves completely ruined. The intoxication of oneself by oneself is produced by various kinds of food for the sake of worthless things, like the cure of a lion by herbs Saying, "This is fragrant , *this* is fragrant Which shall I chose ?" a greedy fool, wandering like a bee, never takes pleasure People deceive themselves by material objects such as beautiful women, pleasant for the moment, alas ! like a child by its play-things Their ears given to the sounds of flutes, lutes, etc , they are torn away from their own good, like one who wishes to sleep from meditation on the *śāstras* At the same time the consciousness of creatures, alas ! alas ! is bewildered by these sense-objects all together, as if by wind, bile and phlegm that have become very strong "

While in this way the Supreme Lord's mind was woven with the threads of continuity of disgust with *samsāra*, then the *Lokāntika*-gods who have nine sub-divisions—*Sārasvatas*, *Ādityas*, *Vahnis*, *Arunas*, *Gardatoyas*, *Tusitas*, *Avyābādhas*, *Maruts* and *Riṣtas*, living at the end of *Brahmmaloka*, having additional ornaments made by folded hands like lotus-buds on their heads, came to the feet of the Lord of the World They spoke as follows "O you who have lotus-feet sunk in the water of light from the crest-jewels of Sakra, O light for the path of *mokṣa* lost in Bharataksetra, just as the first laws for the people have been established, O Lord, likewise establish a *dharmatirtha* Remember your own task " After making this request to the Lord, the gods went to their respective abodes in the *Brahmmaloka* The Master also went at once to his own palace from the garden *Nandana* with the desire to be a wandering mendicant

Reprinted from the translation of *Triṣaṣtiśalakapuruṣa-carita* by Helen M Johnson, Vol I, Baroda, 1931, pp 156-160 Courtesy Oriental Institute, Baroda.

PARISISTAPARVAN

The *Sthavirāvalicarita*, i e, the Lives of the Jaina Patriarchs, by Hemacandra is, as its other and more frequently used title *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* indicates, the Appendix or continuation of the same author's great work, the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* It is divided into 13 cantos, containing about 3500 *ślokas*

The *Sthavirāvalicarita* is a legendary history of the patriarchs from Jambu down to Vajrasena, i e, a series of historical legends about them, arranged in chronological order

Many have written works on the sixtythree *śalākāpuruṣas* down to the *nirvāna* of Mahavira But only two authors have continued the history of the Jaina church beyond that point, viz, (1) Hemacandra in the *Praiśistaparvan* and (2) Bhadresvara in the last part of the *Kathāvali*, a huge work in Prakrit prose Bhadresvara's work though earlier and going beyond the contents of Hemacandra's work has few literary merits, while Hemacandra's is written in fluent Sanskrit verse and elegant *kāvya* style

STHAVIRAVALICARITA OF HEMACANDRA

HERMANN JACOBI

The *Sthavirāvalīcarita* is a legendary history of the patriarchs from Jambu down to Varjasena, i e, a series of historical legends about them, arranged in chronological order Here two questions may be raised, (1) which were the sources that furnished Hemacandra with the materials for the narrative, (2) can the historical foundation of the legendary history of the patriarchs be established on the independent evidence ?

1 *The Sources of the Sthavirāvalīcarita*

What I have to say on this head, I almost entirely owe to my friend Prof E Leumann But before entering on the detailed analysis of the *Sthavirāvalīcarita*, I premise a brief survey of the literary works on which it is based

Religious teachers were wont to enliven their sermons, and to illustrate their doctrines, by apologues and legends When reduced to writing such tales gave rise to what may be called the *Kathānaka* literature, part of which formed the stories of the patriarchs and other famous persons, believed to have contributed to the development of the church after Mahavira's *nirvāna* These stories are scarcely ever alluded to in the *Sūtra* itself, but frequently in the *Niryukti* belonging to it There are ten *Sūtras* to which Bhadrabahu, a late namesake of the sixth patriarch, has written *Niryuktis*, i e , systematical expositions of the subject of the *Sūtra* to which they belong The *Niryuktis* frequently mention the stories in question, but as a rule offer but a mere summary or a few details of them, while the teacher is supposed to be well acquainted with them A more detailed account of the stories is contained in the Prakrit commentraies on the *Sūtras* and *Niryuktis* called *Cūrnis*, and a still further developed account of the same in the *Tīkās* which explain the *Niryuktis* and freely make use of the text of the *Cūrnis* Hemacandra has laid under contribution chiefly Haribhadra's *Tīkā* on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, and in a less degree, that on the *Daśavaikālika Sūtra* by the same author Somewhat different is the literary aspect in the *Niśitha*, *Kalpa*, *Vyavahāra* and *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-Sūtras* To these *Sūtras* also belong *Cūrnis*, which, however, are very voluminous works, written in *gāthās* and shorter

Bhāṣyas by individual authors Leaving the last named works out of account, it can be said that there are practically four layers of the *Kathānaka* literature (1) *Sūtras*, (2) *Niryuktis*, (3) *Cūrnis* and (4) *Tikas*.

The dates within which the *Kathānaka* literature has been developed, can be fixed almost with certitude For the beginning of that period is marked by the *Niryuktis* (1st century A D) and the end by Haribhadra's *Tikā* (8th century A D)

Besides the *Cūrnis* and *Tikās* Hemacandra drew upon the *Vasudevahindi*, a huge work in Prakrit prose about Vasudeva, Krsna, etc The date of *Vasudevahindi* is not known At any rate it cannot be later than the sixth century A D

I now proceed to reproduce, in tabular form, Prof Leumann's analysis of the contents of the *Sthavirāvalicarita* with reference to the sources drawn upon by Hemacandra

I	46-89	(Prasannacandra) *Vasudevahi di*, X
	90-258	(Valkalacarin) *Vasud* XI, (both stories in *Āvaśyaka Cūrni*, VIII, 161, 3 and *Āvaśyaka*, X, 80
	286-469	(Vidyunmalin) *Vasud*, XII
	267-285,	470-473 (Anadrta) *Vasud*, XII
II	1-165	(Jambusvamivivaha) Hemacandra's much enlarged narrative is based on parts of the introduction of *Vasud*
	166-190	(Prabhavacauragama) *Vasud*
	191-222	(1 Madhubindupurusakatha) *Vasud*, IV
	224-311	(2 Kuveradattakatha) *Vasud*, VI
	315-354	(3 Mahesvaradattakatha) *Vasud*, VIII
	720-745	(11 Silajatuvanarakatha) *Vasud*, III
III	214-275	(19 Lalitangakatha) *Vasud*, V
V	1-107	(Prabhavadevatva, Sayyambhavacarita) *Daśavaikālika Niryukti* (14f and 438f), and Haribhadra's *Tikā* on it
VI	5-21	(Bhadrabahusisyacatustayavrttanta) *Uttaradhyāyana Kathānaka*, II, 7
	22-41	(Pataliputrapravesa, beginning) *Āvaśyaka Kathānaka*, XVII, 19, 27
	42-183	(Annikaputrakatha) *Āv Kathā*, XVII, 11, 28
	184-230	(Pataliputrapravesa, end, Udaimarakakatha) *Āv Kathā*, XVII, 11, 29
	231-251	(Nandarajyalabha) *Āv Kathā*, XVII, 11, 30
VII	1-137	(Kalpakamatya) *Āv Kathā*, XVII, 11, 31

VIII	1-108	(Sakatalamarana, Sthulabhadradiksa) *Āv. Kathā*, XVII, 11, 32
	109-168	(Sthulabhadravratacarya) *Āv Kathā*, XVII, 11, 33
	170-192	(Sthulabhadravratacarya, concluded) . *Āv Kathā*, XVII, 11,34 and *Āv*, IX, 58,11
	194-376	(Canakya-Candraguptakatha) *Cūrni* and *Tikā* on *Āv. Niry*, IX, 64, 38 VIII, 149, 2
	377-414,	415-435, 436-445, 446-469 and
IX	1-13,	14-54 Of these seven stories many details can be traced in the *Āvaśyaka, Uttarādhyayana and other Kathānakas.*
	14-54	(Asokasrikunalakatha, Sampratijanmarajyaprapti) *Cūrni* and *Bhāṣya* of *Kalpa* and *Niśitha Sūtras*
	55-76	(Sthulabhadrapurvagrahana) *Āv Kathā*, XVII, 11, 35
	77-110	(Bhadrabahusvargagamana) *Āv Kathā*, XVII, 11, 36
X	1-35	(Dhanadevakatha)
XI	1-22	*Āv Kathā*
	23-38,	55-82 (Sampratirajacarita) *Cūrni* and *Bhāṣya* of *Bṛhatkalpa* and *Niśitha Sūtras*
	39-54	from the same source
	83-102	from the same source
	103-123	from the same source
	124-126	(Aryamahagirisvargagamana) *Āv Kathā*
	128-177	(Avantisukumalanalinigulmagamana) *Āv Kathā*
XII	1-68,	100-388 and
XIII	1-200	*Āv Kathā*, VIII, 41-49
XII	69-99	*Āv Kathā*, IX, 48

The preceding table shows, at a glance, that the substance of Hemacandra's *Sthavirāvalicarita* is almost entirely derived from old sources Of some stories, however, the original version has not yet been found, e g., of the tales 4, 8-10, 12-17 in Cantos II and III , Prof Leumann is of opinion that the report of Jambu's ordination in III, 276-292, and of his instruction by Sudharman in IV, 1-61 has freely been invented by Hemacandra This may also be true with regard to some minor details and the matter of single verses But, on the whole, his narrative is a faithful representation of the originals, and may be compared with them almost verse by verse

The idea of constructing a continuous history of the patriarchs by combining the *Kathānakas* about them was probably suggested by the *Cūrni* of the *Āvaśyaka* itself. For the *Kathānakas* related in *Āv* VIII, 41-49 present one complete period, viz , that of Vajra, Aryaraksita, Phalguraksita and Vajrasena, the subject of *Sthavirāvalicarita*, XII

and XIII. Following up this precedent the next step was no doubt to collect and put together the *Kathānakas* of the remaining periods from Jambu down to Vajra The collection of the materials for the whole history of the patriarchates was achieved, probably for the first time, by Bhadresvara

Bhadresvara's work has few literary merits It is scarcely more than a collection of disconnected materials for the history of the Svetambara church, culled from the ample literature of *Cūrnis* and *Tikās* The *Kahāvali* compares unfavourably with the *Sthavirāvalicarita* by Hemacandra which reads like a connected history of the patriarchate from Jambu down to Vajrasena, told in fluent Sanskrit verses and spirited *kāvya* style No wonder that it superseded the older work to such a degree that for a long time the *Kathāvali* seemed to be lost, till but lately one single manuscript was brought to light

2. *Independent Testimony The Therāvalis*

Though the stories of the patriarchs whose sources have been traced are, on the face of it, incredible legends, still they may contain some grains of historical truth There can be little doubt about the historical character of the patriarchs of whom those stories are told, and of the order of their succession For both points are borne out by the ancient *Therāvalis* of the Svetambaras which it will now be our task to examine more closely

There are two classes of *Therāvalis* (1) that of the *Nandi* and *Āvaśyaka Sūtras*, (2) those of *Kalpa Sutra* (Sthaviravali) They are in perfect agreement down to Mahagiri and Suhastin, the pair of patriarchs in the eighth generation after Mahavira At that point the succession diverges in two lines, one starts from Mahagiri, the other from Suhastin , the first is recorded in *Nandi* and *Āvaśyaka Sūtras*, the second in the *Kalpa Sūtra* Both lines are of course entirely independent of each other, and have no member in common [1] Almost all *theras* who figure in the ancient *Kathānakas* belong to the line of Suhastin

We shall now inquire into the line of Suhastin The *Kalpa-sūtra* gives two redactions of the list, (1) a short one (*samkhittavāyanā*) and (2)

[1] An apparent exception are the four *theras* Dhamma, Bhaddagutta, Vaira and Rakkhiya who belong to the Suhastin line, but in the *Nandi Sutra* 31 32 are included in the Mahagiri-line However, the verses in question are an interpolation as Prof Leumann has proved, see *Z D M G* , vol XXXVII, p. 498

a detailed one (*vittharavāyanā*) Both lists begin with the 5th patriarch Yasobhadra and are in perfect agreement down to the 13th patriarch Vajra and his disciple Vajrasena [2] For the readers' convenience I subjoin the list of those patriarchates

V Yasobhadra
VI Bhadrabahu and Sambhutavijaya
VII Sthulabhadra
VIII. Mahagiri and Suhastin
IX Susthita-Supratibuddha
X. Indradinna
XI Dinna
XII. Simhagiri
XIII Vajra

In the shorter redaction nothing but the names of the patriarchs and their *gotras* are given, while the detailed redaction also enumerates the disciples of each patriarch, and mentions, in their proper places, the *ganas*, *śākhās*, and *kulas* originated by them These details are presumably based on a faithful tradition The historical character of at least some of them has been established by a brilliant discovery of G Buehler [3] He succeeded in identifying the names of 4 *ganas*, 8 *śākhās*, and 13 *kulas*, occuring in Mathura inscriptions of the Kankali mound, with such as mentioned in our *Therāvali* and they belong to the disciples of the eighth, ninth, and eleventh patriarchs Suhastin, Susthita and Supratibuddha and Dinna It is worthy of note that all the *gaṇas* and *kulas*, and 4 of the 8 *śākhās* mentioned above occur also in the *gāthās* quoted in the *Therāvali* , no doubt as evidence of its statements "The part of the *Sthvirāvali* which we can now control", says Prof Buehler, "proves to contain an on the whole trustworthy account of the development of the Svetambara branch of the Jainas, which shows only such accidental mistakes and omissions as may be expected to occur in a late redaction of an oral tradition "

Buehler's discovery has proved that the part of the longer list (*vittharavāyanā*) which contains the above mentioned details, is based on some trustworthy tradition , reliable documents, however, seem to be only the *gāthās* quoted in it Whether the list itself deserves the same credit is open to grave doubt. For no inscription ever mentions the

[2] In the short concluding part of the lists there is some disagreement and confusion which, however, need not detain us, as we are concerned here with their main part only

[3] See his papers in *W Z K M*, vol 2 3 , *Epigraphia Indica*, vol 1 2

patriarch for the time being, our knowledge of them and their succession as exhibited in the *Therāvali* entirely rests on tradition A comparison of the dates in the *Therāvali* with those of other writings will enable us to gauge the value of the former Such a means of checking somehow the tradition of the *Therāvali* is furnished by the record of schisms (*nihnavas*), which is epitomised in the usual form in the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, VIII, 56-100[4], and fully narrated by Haribhadra in the *Tīkā* on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, and by Santi Suri in the *Tīkā 'Śiṣyahita'* on the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (III, 9) Our inquiry will be concerned with the four schisms 4-5, of which the relevant details, viz, name of the heresiarch, his date and scholastic pedigree, may be stated as follows .

4th schism	229 A V, Asamitta, disciple of Kodima, disciple of Mahagiri
5th schism	228 A V, Ganga, disciple of Dhanagutta, disciple of Mahagiri
7th schism	584 A V, Gotthamahila, disciple of Ajja-Rakkhiya (Raksita was not the then patriarch, but Vajra who had instructed him in the *pūrvas* The schism arose after the death of Raksita, and, *a fortiori*, of his teacher Vajra The date of Vajra's death is not recorded, yet being required for the chronological calculation below, I provisionally place it in 575 A V, which cannot be far wrong)

As the *Niryukti* had been written between 584 and 609 A V, its author was no doubt well-informed of the events connected with the two last schisms which had occurred not long before his own time Now Rohagutta, the author of the 6th schism, being a *praśiṣya* of Suhastin, the eighth patriarch, lived in the second generation after the latter, i e, probably under the tenth patriarch Accordingly between him and Bhadrabahu (6th patriarch), there intervened four patriarchates And as Bhadrabahu died in 170 A V, and Rohagupta was living in 544 A V, the intermediate four patriarchates should have lasted 374 years ! This interval yields an average length of each patriarchate, in this period, of about 94 years ! This is quite absurd On the other hand, the interval of 40 years between the last two schisms covers, in the *Therāvali*, four patriarchates, each of an average duration of no more than ten years, a result which errs in an opposite sense from the preceding one

[4] 'Die alten Berichte von den Schismen der Jainas' by Prof Leumann, in *Indische Studien*, vol 1F, p 91 ff

In order to compensate somehow both errors, we may calculate the approximate interval between the death of Bhadrabahu (170 A V) and that of Vajra (575 A V), *viz* , 405 years, which contains seven patriarchates The average length of each patriarchate thus would be nearly 58 years, which is decidedly far too long to be admitted The true average may be estimated at about 30 years, for the six patriarchates from Sudharman down to Bhadrabahu lasted 170 years, which divided by 6, makes an average of 28 years To sum up if we base our inquiry on the well-established dates of the schisms, we arrive at the conclusion that the list of *theras* is imperfectly handed down , there must have been far more *theras* than are contained in the *Therāvali*

One fundamental fault vitiating the early records of the Jainas is the confusion prevailing in their system of chronology An error contingent thereon appears in the account of the schisms

As entered in the table of the schisms, the 4th and 5th heresiarchs, Asamitta and Ganga, were disciples of Kodima and Dhanagutta, who themselves were disciples of Mahagiri , and the 6th heresiarch Rohagutta was a disciple of Sirigutta[5], disciple of Suhastin The latter and Mahagiri were contemporaries, being partners in the eighth patriarchate Therefore, these three heresiarchs, being *praśiṣyas* of Mahagiri and Suhastin, must also have been contemporaneous or nearly so Nevertheless the 4th and 5th schisms are placed in 220 and 228 A V , and the 6th schism in 544 A V Between the first two dates and the third there is a difference of about three centuries, though the events to which both set of dates refers are separated from each other by less than as many decades It is hard to believe that there should ever have been Vira-era which contained the enormous error just pointed out Yet there is a parallel case which proves that such a wrong Vira-era had actually been in use during the early centuries of the Christian era

[5] In the *Theravali* Chaluga Rohagutta figures as a disciple of Mahagiri But this is apparently a mistake For if he had been a disciple of Mahagiri, he would have been the senior of Asamitta and Ganga who were but disciples of Mahagiri's disciples, and this would not have been the 6th but the 4th schism Here then the *Niryukti* deserves preference before the *Theravali* The author of the *Niryukti* belonged to the line of Suhastin, and had no doubt first-hand information about its history, while about all that concerned Mahagiri and his line he could but reproduce the statements of alien sources This difference accounts for the fact that the 6th schism refers to the current era of Mahavira, but those of the 4th and 5th to a greatly erroneous one

Adapted from Introduction, H Jacobi, *Sthaviravalicarita*, Calcutta, 1932

PRAMANAMIMANSA

From the introduction of the first *sūtra*, we learn that *Pramāṇamīmānsā* was to consist of 5 *adhyāyas*, no doubt, on the model of Gautama's *Nyāya-sūtra*, but only a fragment of this work has been recovered which extends upto the end of the first *āhnika* of the second *adhyāya* Either Hemacandra did not live to finish the work, or the remaining portion still awaits discovery, if it is not destroyed As it is, we have 100 *sūtras* and the commentary on them preserved for us

This work or the fragment thereof is interesting from many points of view It shows Hemacandra as a great logician and master of *Darśanas* The work is characterised by his usual lucidity and precision

PRAMANAMIMANSA AND HEMACANDRA

SATKARI MOOKHERJEE AND NATHMAL TATIA

The *Pramāṇamimāṅsā* of Hemacandra occupies an important position in the philosophical literature of India in general and in the Jaina philosophical literature in particular It is a standard text-book in Jaina logic and epistemology which every student of Jaina philosophy has got to study It is quite natural that Hemacandra is deeply indebted to the previous writers both of Jaina and non-Jaina schools and a fastidious critic will find in Hemacandra's texts reproduction of *ipissima verba* as well as of thoughts of previous writing sometimes acknowledged and sometimes without explicit acknowledgement But this need not detract from the merits of the work since Indian writers do not make a fetish of originality either of thought or language, and they make no scruple of inserting the agruments of predecessors even in their own language provided the views expressed therein accord with their philosophical position The writings of predecessors are looked upon as public property and they are used with perfect freedom and impunity It is absolutely plain that authors like Hemacandra with their extra-ordinary command of the Sanskrit idiom could with the least difficulty express these thoughts in their own language and pass them off as their own original production But the fact that these authors with their uncommon felicity of verbal expression did not stop to such tactics is symptomatic of a profound trait of Indian character in the past ages It shows that they were more interested in the views which they regarded as sound exponents of truth than in their personal triumph And as far the reproduction of the very linguistic expressions or the manner of delivery it can be accounted for by the hypothesis that they thought them to be unexceptionable forms of expression which required no improvement or variation for being more effective or impressive We therefore take the earliest opportunity of sounding a warning against the application of tests of recent criticism in the assessment of the value of an ancient philosophical work

As regards the originality of thought which is so highly praised in Europe and in the modern universities of India our ancient writers did not set an inordinate value on it It was as much a matter of minor importance with them as originality of verbal expression A serious work

on philosophical topic did not held an isolated position in India It was rather a link in the expanding chain of philosophical speculations and what was the object of serious concern was fidelity to the fundamentals of the shcool, and originality was more or less suspect with the adherent of the system as rather furnishing a pitfall for error or misconception We must not therefore, expect either originality of expression or of thought in the sense of an abrupt departure from the fundamental tenets which give the school a stamp of distinctive individuality What then should be the criteria of our judgement of the claim of a new book on our attention ? In other words, what are the grounds for believing a book to be worthy of our study and attention ? Again, what justification would there be for the writing of a book when it does not and can not lay claim to establish a new conclusion or to throw new light on the problems that have exercised the human mind ? To make it more precise and to press the question home on the issue at hand we may ask why did Hemacandra compose his work and what was his purpose if he could not establish an original thesis ?

It is an undeniable fact that Hemacandra is one of the later writers, if not the latest of the medieval period on Jaina philosophy Hemacandra was preceded by a galaxy of talented writers on Jaina logic, the foremost of whom are Akalanka, Vidyanandi and Prabhacandra of the Digambara school and Siddhasena, Divakara, Haribhadra, Siddharsi and Abhayadeva of the Svetambara school He had in Vadi Deva Suri, the author of the encyclopaedic work *Syādvāda-ratnākara*, a living contemporary All of them write on Jaina logic and epistemology and there is scarcely any topic or problem which has not been discussed throughly in their works This being the situation there scarcely seems to be any necessity of writing a book on the above lines What was then the incentive for Hemacandra to compose this work ? It is a fact that Hemacandra had very little scope for making a new contribution But the previous writings were extremely elaborate and not at all calculated to satisfy the needs of average students It would take years of extraordinary labour to make a study of these works and there again is every possibility for missing the forest in the trees It was necessary that there should be a work which would not degenerate into a compendious manual and at the same time would embody the solid results achieved by the previous thinkers The *Pramānamimānsā* is not a learned work as the *Syādvāda-ratnākara* or the works of Prabhacandra But the *Syādvāda-ratnākara* is encyclopaedic both in size and scope and inspite of its wonderfully lucid and elegant treatment bound to remain a sealed book to the majority of students And as regards Prabhacandra's works, they are literally formidable for their abstruse array of agruments and their fobidding language

which has neither grace nor literary charm The *Pranānamimānsā* is written on the same pattern of *sūtra* and commentary as the celebrated work of Vadi Deva Suri But it compares favourably with the latter in that it avoids the unremitting elaboration of arguments and prolixity of expressions which have stood in the way of its popularity It contains all the arguments that are necessary to elucidate a problem and the range of information is not substantially inferior to that of the more ambitious works referred to above It would satisfy the critic in the words of Jayanta Bhatta who frankly avowed that he had no original theory of his own to offer to the readers and his purpose for writing the work was to give a rounded exposition and treatment which would satisfy the needs of the average run of students who would learn all that was essential without unnecessary exertion

It is not to be expected that Hemacandra's work can be understood independently of the aid of a teacher Hemacandra did not sacrifice matter for that would involve injustice both to the subject-matter and to the students But he had to compress his information within a limit so that it would not frighten the young learners by its sheer bulk The result has been that Hemacandra is rather terse and more suggestive than expressive It is an ideal text-book and inspite of its truncated character all the relevant problems of logic and epistemology have received an adequate treatment in it It is absolutely clear that a student of Jaina logic and epistemology will derive a comprehensive knowledge of the subject from the study of this work The popularity of this book is due to its comprehensive character alone

The *Pramānamimānsā* is most probably the last work of Hemacandra and from all available manuscripts of the work which end abruptly in the same place it is evident that he could not finish it Whatever might be the reason, the book remains incomplete It is a great loss that we do not get the entire book which was in the contemplation of the author

Reprinted from the 'Preaface', *Pramanamimansa, A Critique of Organ of Knowledge*
Satkari Mookherjee and Nathmal Tatia
Courtesy Bharati Mahavidyalaya, Calcutta

VITARAGASTOTRA
AYOGAVYAVACCHEDIKA
ANYAYOGAVYAVACCHEDIKA

The *Vītarāgastotra* consists of about 186 verses in praise of the Dispassionate, i.e., Mahavīra, divided into 20 hymns. These twenty hymns are referred to in the *Moharāja-parājaya* by Yasopala, a contemporary of Hemacandra, as twenty divine pills (*divya-gulikās*).

Besides *Vītarāgastotra*, Hemacandra wrote two well-known *Dvātrimśikās*, the *Ayogavyavacchedikā* and the *Anyayogavyavacchedikā*, both in praise of Lord Mahavīra. In the former work he disapproved the allegation that Jainism was wrong and in the latter he countered the claims of other systems to be right.

At a later period the *Anyayogavyavacchedikā* formed the basis of Mallisena's famous treatise on Jaina philosophy, *Syādvādamañjarī*.

These poems, inspite of their philosophical preoccupation, are genuine devotional lyrics pulsating deep with reverence for the Master and at the same time rising to a real poetic magnificence.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ANYA-YOGAVYAVACCHEDADVATRIMSIKA AND SYADVADAMANJARI

A B Dhruva

I-III *Introductory*

St I This contains the characterisation of the last *Tirthankara* Lord Mahavira as an ideal teacher possessed of (1) Excellence of Wisdom, (2) Excellence in freedom from all evils or passions, (3)Excellence of a teacher and (4) Excellence consisting in the fact that he has deserved and received worship from all beings, gods as well as men

St II Of the innumerable qualities of the Master, the one which will engage attention of the author is his *yathārthavāda*, i e , his philosophy which is true to facts, that is to say, the many-sidedness of Truth or Reality

St III The author implores all readers, Jaina as well as non-Jaina, to ponder upon the truth of Jaina philosophy which emerges out of the examination of the partial truths of other systems

IV-IX *Criticism of Vaiśeṣika System*

St IV First, of its doctrine of *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa* The Jaina view on the point is that things are by themselves coordinated with things of their own class and differentiated from things of other classes, and consequently there is no need to assume, as the *Vaiśeṣikas* do, the two hypothetical relatives *sāmānya* and *viśesa* This, besides being a gratuitous assumption, according to the Jaina view, involves the absurdity of making two such contradictory things as *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa* reside in one and the same thing, unless you reconcile them in the Jaina manner by regarding them as two relative aspects only of one and the same thing

St V All things including *dipa* and *ākāśa* (generally believed to be *anitya* and *nitya* respectively) are subject to the law of *syādvāda*, that is to say, a *dipa* which is regarded as an examplar of *anitya* things is also *nitya* and *ākāśa* which is regarded as a type of *nitya* things is also *anitya*

All reality, according to Jainas is both *nitya* and *anitya*, although from different points of view, so that there is no logical contradiction. The Jaina rejects the definition of *nitya* which is generally given by other schools, viz, *apracyutānutpattisthiraikarūpam nityam*, which means absolute changelessness He defines it thus *tadbhāvāvyam nityam* (*dhrovyayuktam*) i e, *nitya* is that which continues to exist inspite of *utpāda* and *vināśa*. To what would *utpāda* and *vināśa* belong, argues the Jaina, if nothing continue ? Therefore a continuous reality, he says, must be posited for the very possibility of *utpāda* and *vināśa* In fact, says the Jaina, modes and substance i e, change and permanence exist together neither is possible without the other

Note that the Jaina differs equally from (1) those who held that all is eternal, (2) those who held that all is evanescent and also from (3) those who hold that some things are eternal and some evanescent According to him all things are *both* eternal and evanescent although from different points of view In a way, says the Jaina, even the *Vaiśeṣika* absolutist admits without being aware of it, that *prthvi* is both *nitya* and *anitya*, that *citra-rūpa* is a conglomeration of several mutually exclusive *rūpas* which belongs to a single whole substance, that things are supposed to be *kālāntarasthāyi*, i e, enduring for a certain limited length of time

St VI The doctrine of *Nyāya-Vaiśesika* regarding the existence and nature of God is criticised God according to this school is

(1) Maker of the world,
(2) one,
(3) all-pervading by his presence and knowledge, i e, ubiquitous and omniscient,
(4) independent and
(5) eternal

(1) That the God is the maker of the world is criticised by the author mainly on two grounds First, that the *anumāna* is precluded by *pratyakṣa* which definitely bears witness to the fact that these things (earth, mountain, etc) have no maker Secondly, in the cases in which we have observed making, the making belongs to persons *with a body* If to escape the difficulty you say that he can put on a body through his infinite power or that he may possess it owing to our own *adṛṣta*, it is a gratuitous assumption which amounts to begging the question

(2) He is one For, the world is one consistant whole and not a congeries of several conflicting forces, since it is a cosmos and not a

chaos To this the Jaina replies · Not necessarily so For many may cooperate to produce a single result, e.g , the bees that make their hive.

(3) Since his making takes place in all parts of the universe, he must be supposed to be everywhere and he must be also *all-knowing* If he is everywhere, he, says the Jaina, absorbs everything into his own self leaving nothing to exist outside it If he knows everything he knows, we suppose, even hell and knowledge in his case being direct experience, he is supposed to experience hell

The Jaina continues, we may agree that certain souls are all-knowing, in which case, God would be one of such souls, that is to say, he would be on a par with emancipated souls "But mark", says Mallisensa, the commentator revising his position, "that knowledge does not actually travel from the knower to the known, and therefore, omniscience does not necessarily involve omnipresence Moreover, what is the proof of his omniscience ?—he asks It cannot be *pratyakṣa* unless we ourselves are omniscient or become so in process It cannot be *anumāna*, for you cannot argue from the finite to infinite It cannot be *arthāpatti*, that is, a hypothesis or assumption necessary for explaining the wonderful variety and richness of the world For, the *adṛṣṭa* of living beings including the vegetable kingdom will explain one part of it and the remaining part which belongs to the inanimate kingdom may well be existing eternally so and eventually become the object of the joys and sorrows of the sentient beings It cannot be *śābda* or the authoritative text of the sacred scriptures for, the scriptures on which you rely are full of contradictions

(4) By the very nature of the case he is said to be independent Then why does he create a world so full of misery and inequalities unless he is wantonly cruel and unjust If misery is punishment for a foul deed and inequality is due to our varying *karmans*, this hypothesis of *karma* will suffice to explain everything and God will be superfluous

(5) He is said to be *eternal* If so, he should be eternally active, or eternally inactive In the former case, his work would at no point be finished and so nothing could be ever accomplished In the latter case, nothing could ever begin Moreover, how could he have eternally conflicting natures viz., making and unmaking at the same time.

St VII Next doctrine of the *Vaiśeṣikas* to be criticised is that of *samavāya* also called *vṛtti* which is supposed to connect two absolutely

distinct things, viz , *dharma* and *dharmin*, it itself being distinct from both. This says the Jaina is contrary to all experience We never perceive three things, one binding the other two Next, *samavāya*, it is said, is one, eternal and all-pervasive If so the moment one thing perished, its *samavāya* would perish and with it all things in the world to which it belonged

St VIII In this stanza three more doctrines of the *Vaiśeṣikas* were criticised

(1) *Sattā* (the highest *sāmānya* or universal) which is supposed to reside not in all that exists, that is in all reals, but *in certain reals only* viz , *dravya, guna* and *karma* the remaining being denied the right The latter are *sāmānya, viśeṣa* and *samavāya* together with *abhāva*, the latter being added by commentators to Kanada's list of categories

(2) *Caitanya* which one would expect to be regarded as the very essence of *Ātman* is treated by the *Vaiśesikas* as an advertitious (*aupādhika*) quality which comes temporarily into *Ātman* as a result of the working of the machinery of cognition (*jñāna*)

(3) Liberation of *Ātman* is not a positive state of *samvit* (consciousness) and *ānanda* (joy) but negative condition in which there is no consciousness and no joy

St IX The doctrine next examined is that of the *bibhutva* of *Ātman*—that *Ātman* is everywhere—a doctrine which on the face of it, says the Jaina, is contrary to our experience For, all are agreed that a thing must be where its quality is found Since the *Vaiśesikas* held that *Ātmans* are many, if each of them is *bibhu* also as he believes, what a wonderful clash and interpenetration of *Ātmans* would ensue It may be urged unless *Ātman* was *bibhu*, how could the *Ātman* draw to himslef the particles for the body in which he has to dwell in the next life Or even if he could, would not his body-sized *Ātman*, as a consequence, be *sāvayava* and therefore a *kāryya* just like the body itself The Jaina, however, is prepared to accept the logical consequence The Jaina believes that *Ātman* is *sāvayava*, is *parināmin* and does change from time to time It may be asked in support of the *bibhutva* theory If *Ātman* were body-sized how could *Ātman* enter the body ? For two *mūrta* things cannot occupy the same space at the same time The Jaina answers the objection by denying *mūrtatva* in one sense (materiality) and affirming in another (*asarvagatatva*)

X *Criticism of Nyāya*

St X (1) *Pramāna.* Mallisena examines and rejects the definition in the *Nyāya-bhāṣya* by Vatsayana and in the *Nyāyasāra* *arthopalabhdhihetuh pramānam* and *samyaganubhavasādhanam pramānam* In neither of the two definitions, he says the essential fact that *pramāna* is *jñāna* is brought out Correct diefinition of *pramāna*, says Mallisena, is *svaparavyavasāyi jñānam pramānam*

(2) *Prameya* *Sarira* etc are included in *Ātman* and are not required to be separately mentioned *Pretyabhāva* and *apavarga* are similarly states of *Ātman* A more fundamental objection is it is not a *prameya* but *pramātṛ*

XI-XII *Criticism of Pūrvamimānsā*

St XI The author next criticises the defence of *himsā* as made by certain Vedists To say that *himsā* is *veda-vihitā* and therefore, *dharma-hetu* is to condemn the *Veda* He rejects the plea of the Vedists that *himsā* though ordinarily a sin is not a sin when it is prescribed by the *Veda* Mallisena condemns also the *śrāddha* ceremony which was a great occasion with the Vedist Brahmins for slaughtering animals and eating animal food Lastly, Mallisena takes up the scholastic problem whether *Veda* is to be regarded as *pauruṣeya* or *apauruṣeya*

St XII Next Mallisena examines *Pūrvamimānsā* (that of a particular sect established by Kumarila Bhatta) Thus regarding the nature of *jñāna* The Jaina holds that *jñāna* or consciousness has this dual nature (1) It reveals itself and (2) reveals also the world of object He rejects the view of Kumarila that *jñāna* itself is known by a process of implication (*arthāpatti*) being implied in the fact of *jñātatā* of the object, which is its effect With it he also rejects a similar theory of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas* who regards *jñāna* as *anuvyavasāyagamya*, i e , known by a further act of knowing directed upon the first fact of knowledge

XIII-XIV *Criticism of Vedānta or of that particular tenet of the school which has made it famous, viz , māyāvāda*

St XIII Hemacandra's criticism of *māyāvāda* is simple (1) If *māyā is*, there is no *advaita* (2) If *māyā* is not, how will there be this world, which it sought to account for by assuming *māyā* Moreover, to say that something is *māyā* (false) and that it serves to account for the world is a

contradiction For unless something exists how can it do the duty of accounting for another thing ? Mallisena proceeds to elaborate the criticism He challenges the opponent to explain the meaning of *mithyā-rūpatva* (1) If it means absolute non-existence it is accepting the position of *asatkhyāti*—which the Vedantist would not take of lest it might expose him to the charge of being considered *śunyavādin* (Buddhist) (2) If it means mistake it is *viparītakhyāti* which too the Advaitist cannot adopt as it involves two reals (3) If it means that it cannot be definitely characterised by either existent or non-existent, i e , *anirvācya*, explanation may well be demanded as regards the meaning of *anirvācyatva* If *anirvācyatva* =*nihsvabhāvatah* it will involve *satkhyāti* or *asatkhyāti* according as *svabhāva* in *nihsvabhāvatva* is taken to be *bhāva* or *abhāva* Again, if *nihsvabhāvatva*=*pratītyagocaratva*, how can such a word (*prapañca*) be even talked about Moreover, it will be inconsistent with the *hetu pratīvamānatvād* as *pratītyagocaratva* mean *apratītyamānatva*

Besides the whole argument is *pratyakṣa-bādhita* Adopting a some what different form of argument Mallisena makes out a *prima facie* case for the Vedantin on the ground of *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *āgama* and afterwards attacks each of them

St XIV The problem of the reality of one or many, which is involved in the Vedantin's position discussed under the preceding stanza presents itself in another form what do words *sāmānva* or *viśeṣa* express—universal or particular, one or many? Some of *Pūrvamīmānsakas*, the *Advaita* Vedantists and *Sānkhyas* are universalists and some of them singularists also The Buddhists are particularists and pluralists and the *Vaiśeṣikas* and *Naiyāyikas* are both According to the Jaina, they are all partially right The first group of thinkers looks to the unity of substance, the second confines their attention to its manifold modes or changes, the third considers both but treates them as separate self-sufficient realities Mallisena points out where each of them errs and what aspect each of them has ignored The last school that of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* comes nearest to the Jaina position , yet does not appreciate the relativity of *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa*, the universal and the particular, the one and the many

XV *Criticism of Sānkhya*

St XV Mallisena first gives a summary of the *Sānkhya* system by quoting from *Sānkhya-kārikā* and shows that it has gone wrong in the matter of the point mentioned by Hemacandra

In the *sānkhya* system

(1) *Cit* has nothing to do with knowldge of *artha*, to know things being regarded as a function of *buddhi* *Buddhi* is regarded as *jada*, and evolute of *Prakrti* and not a *dharma* of *Cit* or *Puruṣa* Here is twofold offence against truth says the critic The function of *Puruṣa* should be to know and *buddhi* should be a *dharma* of *Puruṣa* and not a product of *Prakṛti*

(2) *Ākaśa* and other *bhūtas* are said to have sprung from subtle *tanmātrās* viz , *ṣabda*, etc This is quite contrary to what we observe *Sabda*, etc are the *dharma* or *gunas* of *pañca-mahābhūtas* and not the germs of the latter

(3) *Bandha* and *mokṣa*, says *Sānkhya*, do not really belong to *Puruṣa*, he being free Then why so much ado about *mokṣa-śāstra*, asks Mallisena

Mallisena next deals with certain minor details of the *Sānkhya* system

XVI-XIX *Criticism of Buddhism*

St XVI Mallisena next criticises Buddhism, particularly Buddhist Idealism

(1) The identity of *pramāna* and *phala* (*pramiti*), according to the Buddhists, does not bring an external object in touch with consciousness or to be more accurate it does not make (external) reality an object of (internal) knowledge , thus nothing enters into consciousness from without, the act of knowing being nothing but consciousness in every part

This position is criticised on the following grounds The relation between *pramāna* and *phala* is a causal relation—which implies that the two cannot be simultaneous, nor can the two be successive for causality is not possible under such conditions Besides the causal relation is a relation and as such it implies two correlatives, consciousness and something other than consciousness Mallisena criticises it on the ground that no such make-shift can succeed in doing away with the necessity of recognising two instead of one factor in the act of knowledge The Jaina rejects at the same time the extreme dualism of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* school for the simple reason that *pramāna* and *phala* (*pramiti*) both belong to one and the same person so that their unity in *Ātman* somehow cannot be denied altogether

(2) Another favourable doctrine of the Buddhists is the *kṣaṇa-bhangavāda*—the doctrine of momentariness The main ground on which it rests is that nothing can perish unless it is in its nature to perish, which means that perishibility is its nature and since the nature of a thing does not depend upon anything other than the thing itself, perishibility amounts to actual perishing The doctrine of *kśaṇabhanga* is rejected by the Jaina on the ground that it is onesided, the aspect of permanence (*dhrauvya*) has, as necessary as that of *change*, that is production (*utpāda*) and destruction (*nāśa*).

(3) Next is criticised Buddhist Realism It is not true that the *artha* has to be real in order to be a *kārana* of *jñāna*, for there can be *jala-jñāna* even when there is no real *jala* but only *mṛgatṛṣnikā* The Buddhist Realist perhaps may argue that *prakāśaka* (the revealer, *jñāna*) implies *prakāśya* (the revealed, *artha*)—*prakāśa artha* which is also the cause of its *prakāśaka* (*jñāna*) This argument is answered by citing example of *pradipa* and *ghata* between which no causal relation exists although one is *prakāśaka* and the other *prakāśya* Further, it is pointed out that the cause need not be real, it may be ideal For example, *smṛti* is not caused by *artha* but *jñāna* (*anubhva*) and yet it is the very breath of *anumāna-pramāna*

Taking up the second half of the stanza, Mallisena attacks the school of Buddhist Idealism (*vijñānavāda* of *Yogācāra* school) which asserts that ideas (*jñānas*) are the only reals, there being no causal or corresponding world of external reality

St XVII The critic next proceeds to attack the *śūnyavāda* of the *Mādhyamika* school generally understood to mean the doctrine of absolute and universal emptiness or void In fact *śūnyavāda*, if it is to be worthy of credence must be supported by *pramāna*, which however will mean negation of *śūnyavāda*

St XVIII Next we have a criticism of the Buddhist *kṣanabhanga-vāda* in its application to the problem of *Ātman* In the absence of abiding *Ātman*, says the critic, (1) there can be no moral retribution in our life (2) Similarly there is no room for liberation (3) Even such an ordinary psychological fact as *smrti* (*memory*) becomes impossible

St XIX The doctrine next criticised is that of *vāsanā*—a kind of makeshift which is intended to do duty for the principle of permanance which the Buddhist denies All Indian philosophers are firm beleivers of transmigration and the Buddhist who denies the existence of the

soul yet believes in transmigration has somehow to make it possible. This he does by adopting the theory of *vāsanā* It is intended to account for the apparent continuity of our psychic experience not only in our present life but also of the past and the future But the problem which he has to face is that of reconciliation of *vāsanā* with *kṣanabhanga* and the critic points out how the task is hopeless

In the first case nothing is gained by the addition of *vāsanā* In the second case it must either conform to the principle of *kṣanabhanga* or not In the third case, the position becomes impossible for it must be either the one *abheda* or the other *bheda* Mallisena further shows how *vāsanā* is not possible without a permanent something on which it should rest

XX *The Cārvākas criticised*

St XX The two principles of the *Cārvākas* which are criticised are (1) that *pratykṣa* is the only *pramāna* not even *anumāna* , (2) that there is no soul, beyond the physical body and consequently there is no moral responsibility and no life after death

The first is impunged on the following grounds As a result of your doctrine we cannot be aware of the mind of other person as we have evidently no *pratyakṣa* or direct experience of it We cannot classify our cognition as *pramāna* and *apramāna* Moreover, we should not forget that we call even *pratyaksa* a *pramāna* on the strength of our experience and generalisation from observed cases that is to say our belief in the credibility of our senses rests on inference

The materialistic view of the soul is condemned by showing that the consciousness is not the product of *bhūtas*

XXI-XXX *Jaina Doctrine*

St XXI. *Nature of Reality Permanence and Change*

The author asserts here the Jaina Doctrine—Reality is possessed of *utpāda*, *vyaya* and *dhrauvya* as against those who are obessed by the phenomenon of the first and second and overlook the third (Buddhists) and also those who contrariwise notice only the third and forget the first two (Sankara Vedantists) *Utpādavyayadhrauvyayuktam Sat*

St XXII *Reality Many-sided*

Now another proposition in which it is set forth . *anantadharmātmakamevatattvam* Truth has numberless aspects

St XXIII *Saptabhangi*

The author here points out how one and the same thing may be viewed synthetically or analytically as one or as many—as one substance or as many attributes or modes This fact has pressed in the famous 'set of seven forms' or *saptabhangi*

St XXIV *No contradiction of the so-called opposites*

The author now explains how the synthesis of opposites recommended in the previous stanza does not involve any contradiction, inasmuch as the opposites are conditioned by *upādhi*—or are relative to them

St XXV *No contradiction continued*

Application of the principle to certain problems of philosophy

St XVI *Criticism of absolutely eternal and the absolutely transitory*

Author shows how the arguments of the two sides destroy each other with the result that the doctrine of *syādvāda* emerges from their mutual conflict

St XXVII *Criticism of Absolutism continued*

Absolutists cannot solve the problem of *sukha-dukṣa*, *punya-pāpa* and *bandha-mokṣa*

St XXVIII *Durnaya, naya and pramāna*

Author next refers to the Jaina philosophy of *durnaya*, *naya* and *pramāna* (1) *Durnaya* is the mistake of partial truth for the whole truth to the exclusion of the latter, (2) *naya* is the statement of partial truths, without the recognition that they are only partial and (3) *pramāna* is the whole truth The commentator here sets forth the famous doctrine of *nayas*

The doctrine of *naya* or relativity of knowledge is the most remarkable contribution of Jainism to philosophy It means that Reality is conveyed (from *ni*) to the mind differently from different points of view or to make it from the other end, the mind approaches Reality differently from different points of view

St XXIX *The number of souls*

The souls are divisible into six kinds but their number is endless.

St. XXX. The *Doctrine of Syādvāda all comprehensive and impartial.*

The Jaina philosophy emerges as the whole truth from the mutual conflicts of the several schools.

XXXI-XXXII *Praise of the Lord Mahāvīra*

The *Dvātrimśikā* closes as it began with the panegyric of the *Tīrthankara.*

From the short summary of the contents, the reader will see what a wide range of phisolophical topics has been covered in this work None of the rival systems has been examined in its entirety but only those tenets have been selected for criticism from each of the schools in which the Jaina is really interested and these are some of the greatest problems of religion and philosophy, such as the problem of the universal and the particular, the permanent and the changing, God, the one, omniscient omnipotent and omniscient maker of the world, the sanctity of all life, the state of the liberated souls, the theory of knowledge, the nature of reality, etc The examination, moreover, is not in the nature of irresponsible criticism (*vitandā*) but care has been taken to present the Jaina view and each of the points that has been considered, and in conclusion, a clear statement has been made of the Jaina doctrine of *naya* and *syādvāda*, in our phrase, of the relativity of knowledge which is determined by the point of view from which Reality is approached For this great achievement it is difficult to apportion credit between Hemacandra, the author of *Anyoyogavyavacchedikā* and Mallisena, the writer of *Syādvādamañjarī* The former is a genuine devotional lyric, pulsating with reverence for the Master, and is at the same time a review of some of the tenets of rival schools on which the Jaina sees reason to differ Devotion and thought are here happily blended together in one whole, and are expressed in such noble and dignified language that it deserves to rank as a piece of literature no less than that of philosophy To Mallisena belongs the credit of constructing a systematic work out of the brief critical remarks which Hemacandra throws out at random His knowledge of the different systems, however, is not equally deep In some of the systems such as the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* he is evidently well-read, while of others, such as the *Vedānta* he has touched only the fringe But on the whole, he has conducted the examination of the different systems with knowledge and mastery of detail, and that too, in a wonderfully lucid style, which lifts his work from the position of a mere parasitical commentary to that of an original work of independent value.

Adapted from Introduction, A. V Dhruva, *Syadvadamanjari*, Bombay, 1933

A COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF HEMACANDRA

(*From the Catalogue of India Office Library*)

Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi (also called *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi-nāma-mālā*) by Hemacandra *Sānekārtha-nāma-mālātmakaḥ koṣa-varaḥ śubhaḥ Hemacandra-praṇītābhidhāna-cintāmaṇir-maṇiḥ nagare Kalikātākhye Kolavruk* (Colebrooke) *sāhevājñayā Srī-Vidyākara-Miśreṇa kṛta-sūcī-samanvitaḥ*
pp (2), 96, 120/140, 4, 1 22×15cm
Baburama's Press Calcutta, 1874 (1817) 12 F 11

— Hemakandra's Abhidhanakintamani, ein systematisch angeordnetes synonymisches Lexicon Herausgegeben, ubersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von otto Boehtlingk und Charles Rieu
pp xii, 433 +(1) 22×15 cm
Akademie der Wissensschaften St Petersburg, 1847
12 D.21

— The *Abhidhāna-saṃgraha* No 6 The *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, of Hemacandra Edited by Pandit Sivadatta and Kasinath Pandurang Parab
pp (2), 6, 58 27×18 cm
Nirnayasagar Press Bombay, 1896 1102

— *Srīmad Ācārya-Hemacandra-viracitaḥ Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇih, Srī-Jinadeva-Munīśvara-viracitaha Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi Silonchena tathā Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇih śeṣanāma-mālayā ca saṃvalitaḥ*
pp (4), 257, 19, 288, 26, covers 18×14 cm
Nirnayasagar Press Bombay, 1956(1900) 23 D 28

— *Sānuvāda Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* (*Koṣa-grantha*) *Jaina Paṇḍita Hemacandra-Sūri-praṇītaḥ Nārāyana-Candra-Bhaṭṭācāryya-Vidyābhūṣaṇena* (*Vanga-Bhāṣayā*) *anūditaḥ*
pp (ii), ii, ii, 747, iv, covers 18×11 cm
Binapani Press Calcutta, 1314 (1907) 23 B 7

— *Hemacandrācārya-viracitah Abhıdhāna-cıntāmanıh* (*from* the first page). (Edıted by Haragovındadasa and Bechar-dasa Yasovıjaya-Jaına-Granthamala (Nos 41, 42) No tıtle page Incomplete Two vols
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Bhavnagar (1915, 1920) San D 80

— *Ratna-prabhā* by Vasudeva Janardana Kaselakara *Srīmad-Hemacandrācārya-vıracıtah Srı Abhıdhāna-cıntā-manıh (Haıma)-koṣah Ratna-prabhā-vyākhyā-vıbhūṣıtah śeṣa-nāmamālā-Sıloñca-Ekākṣara-nāma-mālābhih-śahıtaś-ca* Muktı-Kamala-Jaına-Mohana-Mala No 21
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Samkṣıpta-Tıkā Abhıdhāna-cıntāmanıh (*Samkṣıpta-tıkā-sahıtah*) *Srı Hemacandra-Sūrı-vıracıtah Vedānta-vāgıśopanāmaka-Srı-Kalıvara-Sarmanā Srı Rāmadāsa-Senena ca samskṛtah*
pp (ı), 89-231, 2, covers 22×15 cm
Samvada Jnana Ratnakara Press Calcutta 1934 (1877) 924

Abhıdhāna-cıntāmanı-nāma-mālā
See *Abhıdhāna-cıntamanı* (also called *Abhıdhana-cıntāmanı-nāma-mālā*) by Hemacandra

Abhıdhāna-cıntāmanı-parıśıṣta by Hemacandra The *Abhıdhāna-samgraha* No 7 The *Abhıdhāna-cıntāmanı-parıśısta* of Hemacandra Edıted by Pandıt Sıvadatta and Kasınath Pandurang Parab
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See *Abhıdhāna-cıntāmanı* (*Abhıdhāna-cıntāmanı-nāma-mālā*) by Hemacandra

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Anekārtha-samgraha by Hemacandra
See *Abhidhāna-cintāmani* (also called *Abhidhāna-cintāmani-nāma-mālā* by Hemacandra.

— The *Abhidhāna-samgraha* No 8. The *Anekārtha-samgraha* of Hemacandra Edited by Pandit Sivadatta and Kasinath Pandurang Parab.
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— The *Anekārtha-samgraha* of Acarya Hemacandra Edited with an alphabetical Index prepared by Chananandá Pandeya and Janardana Joshi By Jagannatha Sastri Hosing Haridasa-Sanskrta-Grantha-Mala No 68
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Vidya Vilasa Press Benares, 1929 San D 338/68

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Anya-yoga-vyavaccheda-dvātrimśikā (also called *Mahāvīra-svāmī-stotra*) by Hemacandra *Kāvyamālā* Part VII (Containing the *Māhavira-svāmi-stotra*) Edited by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kasinath Pandurang Parab
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— *Avacūri Hemacandra-Sūrisvara-nirmitā Anya-yoga-vyavaccheda-dvātrimśikā* (*Syādvāda-mañjarī-uddhrtā-vacūrisahitā*) Sri-Satyavijaya-Jaina-Granthamala, No 4
pp (2), 42, covers 18×12 cm
Jain Advocate Printing Press Ahmedabad, 1924
San B 772(d)

— *Syādvāda-mañjarī* by Mallisena Suri *Hemacandrācārya viracitah Anya-yoga-vyavaccheda-dvātrimśikā Mallisena-Sūri-racitayā Syādvāda-mañjarī nāmnyā tikayā sahitā Srāvaka-Haragovindadāsa-Bechardāsābhyām samśodhitā Yaso-*vijaya-Jaina-Granthamala, 30
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— *Srī-Hemacandrācārya-viracitā-Anya-yoga-vyavaccheda-dvātrimśikā-tad-vyākhyā-ca-Srī-Mallisena-Sūri-pranītā Syādvāda-mañjari Motilāla ity etaih tippanībhir upodghātena ca pariṣkṛtya samśodhita* Arhatmata Prabhakara Mayukha, 3
pp 14+(2), 6, 15-64, (4), 244, 6, covers 21×14 cm
Jaina Printing Works Poona, 2452 (1926) San D 5

— • — *Srī-Hemacandra-Sūri-viracitā-Anya-yoga-vyavaccheda-dvātrimśikā-tad-vyākhyā ca Srī-Mallisena Sūri-pranītā Syādvāda-manjari* Sethiya Jaina Grantha-mala, No 71
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Sethiya Jaina Printing Press Bikaner 2453 (1927)
San D 518

— — *Syādvāda-mañjari* of Mallisena with *Anya-yoga-vyavaccheda-dvātrimśikā* of Hemacandra, edited with Introduction, Notes and Appendices by A B Dhruva Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No LXXXIII
pp cxxv, 180, 379, 74, 18 23×15 cm, covers
Tattva Vivecaka Press Bombay Poona, 1933
San D 308/83

Ātma-garhā-stava by Hemacandracarya *Srī Ratnākara Sūriji kṛta Pañcaviśī tathā Srī Hemacandrācārya kṛta Ātmagarhāstava chutā śabdanā (Gujrāti)-artha, gāthā, śabdārtha vigere sāthe*
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Sri Laksmi Press, Ahmedabad, 1909 San B 863(i)

Ayoga-vyavaccheda-dvātrimśikā (also called *Mahāvira-Svāmi-stotra*) by Hemacandra *Kāvyamālā* Part VII (Containing the *Mahāvira-Svāmi-stotra* Edited by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kasinath Pandurang Parab
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Chando'nuśāsana by Hemacandra *Vṛtti* by the same *Srimad Hemacandrācārya pranītam Chando'nuśāsanam*
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Nirnayasagr Press Bombay, 1912 18 BB 16

— *Vṛtti* by Hemacandra
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Deśīnāmamālā by Hemacandra The *Deśīnāmamālā* of Hemacandra Edited with critical notes, a glossary and a historical introduction, by Prof R. Pischel and Dr G Buehler Text and critical notes, by Prof Pischel Bombay Sanskrit Series, No XVII, Part I
pp 10+(i), 300 25×17 cm
Govt Central Book Depot Bombay, 1880. 5 H 1-2

Dhātupātha (from the Sabdānuśāsana) by Hemacandra
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— *Vṛtti* by Abhayatilaka Gani
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— *Vṛtti* by Purnakalasa Gani
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Haima-dhātumālā by Gunavıjaya Munı *Munı-Srı-Gunavıjaya-pranıtā-* Haıma-*Dhātumālā Sā ceyam Vıjayanandana-Sūrına bahuşu sthaleşu parıvardhıtā*
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Haıma-laghu-prakrıyā by Vınayvıjay Ganı dıscıple of Kırtıvıjaya *Srī Haıma-laghu-prakrıyākhyām Vyākaranam Mahopādhyāya Srī Vınayvıjaya Ganı-vıracıtam*
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Haıma-vyākarana by Hemacandra
See *Sabdānuśāsana* (also called *Sıddha-Hemacandra, Sıddha-Hemacandra-Sabdānuśāsana* and *Haıma Vyākarana*) by Hemacandra

Jaına Rāmāyana (from *Trışaştıśalākāpuruşacarıta*) by Hemacandra *Jaına Rāmāyanam Trışaştıśalākāpuruşacarıtrāntargata-saptama-parvātmakam Srī-Hemacandrācārya-vıracıtam Srī Jagannātha Suklena parıśodhıtam*
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pp 888 23×15 cm
Asiatic Society of Bengal Calcutta, 1907-21
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He who vieweth all creatures

As his own self

And seeth them all alike

And hath stopped all influx of *karma*

And is self-restrained

Incurreth no sin

—Lord Mahavira

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